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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF THE

ABBE MILLOT.

PART FIRST.

Ancient History.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

SALEM:

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MDCC XCVI.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE merit and high reputation of the Abbé Millot as an hiſtorian, with the very favourable reception which has been given to the following work by the learned in every nation of Europe, make any encomium on its author unneceſſary, at the ſame time that they ſufficiently apologize for its being offered to the Public in an Engliſh dreſs.

Though no ſubject has been more frequently treated than Ancient Hiſtory, he has found the ſecret of making it in a great meaſure new, by the elegant perſpicuity and ſpirit of his narrative, as well as the ſolidity, juſtice and impartiality of his reflections; in a word, by a happy union of the philoſopher with the hiſtorian.—But he has given his readers ſo full an account, in his preface, of what they are to expect from the work, that it is needleſs to enlarge upon it here. It will be ſufficient to obſerve in his own words, that "Though "this performance be intended for youth who are already acquainted "with the firſt elements of literature, and men of buſineſs who are "deſirous either of acquiring an idea of the principal hiſtorical events, "or of refreſhing their memories without engaging in too tedious a "courſe of ſtudy, yet he has not totally neglected readers even of the "tendereſt age." To this we may add, that the ſmall compaſs in

which he has compriſed ſo extenſive a ſubject, is no little merit; eſpecially as the only tolerable performances of this kind that have appeared in our language, are too expenſive, as well as too voluminous, to meet with a general peruſal.

The Tranſlator is fully ſenſible how difficult a taſk it is to do entire juſtice to his author; the rapidity of whoſe narration is often irreconcilable with that flowing ſtyle, thoſe majeſtic and harmonious periods, which are the proper ornaments of particular hiſtories, and which have lent ſuch captivating graces to the works of our late great authors; his principal aim therefore has been perſpicuity, and fidelity to his original; yet he has taken as much care as poſſible to avoid giving offence to the ear of his reader; and endeavoured to make his diction correct, though he does not aſpire to the praiſe of elegance. In a word, whatever defects may be found in the tranſlation, he flatters himſelf, that to the candid Public it will be no unacceptable preſent.

PREFACE.

THE princes of Parma, who are deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious family in Europe, ever ſince their acceſſion to that dutchy, have formed a number of eſtabliſhments for the improvement of thoſe branches of knowledge that have an immediate tendency to promote the happineſs of ſociety. From a conviction that hiſtory is one of the beſt ſchools for informing the minds of the people, and making them truly virtuous, they have neglected nothing which could facilitate that ſtudy, and direct it in ſuch a manner as promiſed the greateſt benefit to the public; particularly by making it part of the education of the young nobility.

I have had the honour of being employed on this important ſubject; and the plan which was publiſhed in 1768, by order of His Royal Highneſs the Infant Don Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, will give a ſufficient idea of the method I purſued; to which I ſhall only add a few obſervations upon the contents of the firſt volumes.

Some celebrated moderns have too violently cried down Ancient Hiſtory; and, were we to hearken to them, it ought not only to be baniſhed from the ſchools, but excluded from the cloſets of people of faſhion, as being

being equally fabulous and uſeleſs, and engroſſing too much of that time which ought to be dedicated to more important ſtudies.

It muſt be acknowledged that we ſhould not give it the preference to ſubjects in which we are more deeply intereſted, as was formerly the caſe, nor with pedantic dulneſs heap up trifling niceties, while employed in the education of a gentleman; it ſhould not be rendered abſurd by the admiſſion of ſenſeleſs fables, nor tireſome by fruitleſs inquiries; in a word, we ſhould not give an appearance of importance to things which are only an oppreſſive load to the memory.

But Ancient Hiſtory, when reduced to proper limits will not only prove a ſtrong incentive to curioſity, but a ſource from whence the moſt valuable information, and even the principles of the moſt important knowledge, may be obtained without much trouble. Conſidering it in this light, I have done my endeavour to ſelect the ſubſtance in a work that is both ſhort and diſtinct, which contains and explains the truths that principally merit our attention.

The *Diſcourſe upon Univerſal Hiſtory*, by the great Boſſuet, which is one of the maſter pieces of the age of Louis XIV. preſents us, in his eloquent, conciſe manner, only with a chronological ſeries of events, ſtript entirely of circumſtances; ſo that to be able to read it to advantage,

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it is neceſſary to be already acquainted with hiſtory. The laſt part of that Diſcourſe, where the illuſtrious prelate treats of cuſtoms, governments, &c. is full of the moſt ſublime reflections, which deſerve the greateſt attention, but cannot be underſtood, without a competent ſhare of hiſtorical knowledge. Boſſuet has executed his plan like a man of genius; and if I have preſumed ſometimes to deviate from his opinions, it is becauſe ſeveral points, which were not ſo well known in his time, have ſince been cleared up by the learned. Particularly M. Goguet, in his *Origin of Laws and Government, &c.* has given us more juſt ideas of the Ancients.

The faults commonly aſcribed to Mr. Rollin are, that he is too diffuſe and inaccurate; but at the ſame time we muſt allow that his memory and his writings merit the greateſt reſpect. In following a very different route from him, may I be found to have copied thoſe virtuous ſentiments by which his pen was always guided!

If ſome ſcrupulous readers think proper to blame me for having inſiſted more than he has done on the exceſſes of credulity and ſuperſtition, I have but two words to ſay in reply. Credulity is the parent of errour, and ſuperſtition is the enemy of that divine religion which the Chriſtians have received as a rule for conduct in life, and as a pledge of their future happineſs.

I have

I have divided my work methodically, and in ſuch a manner as to make each chapter the ſubject of one leſſon for youth. The marginal notes are a kind of analyſis, which will be of uſe to aſſiſt the memory. The table of ancient geography, at the end of the firſt volume, contains nothing but what I think neceſſary; and the chronological table at the end of the ſecond, aſcertains the periods of the moſt remarkable events.

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INTRODUCTION.

AN immenſe field preſents itſelf to our view. We are to examine the lapſe of ages, and the extent of the world. A knowledge of the human race is the object of our inquiries; and ſurely there can be no ſubject ſo deſerving the curioſity of man. He may with eminent advantage contemplate the phenomena of heaven, the productions of the earth, all the riches, all the beauties of nature, that magnificent ſpectacle which diſplays the wiſdom and greatneſs of the Creator: but the origin, the progreſs, the decline, of nations and empires; the wonderful effects produced by the working of the paſſions, and the force of genius; the ſurpriſing variety of laws, manners, cuſtoms, and opinions; the events which have ſo frequently changed the face of the world; in a word, the objects which are diſplayed in hiſtory, have a much more intimate connection with his own concerns. While he remains without a knowledge of them, he is like a ſtranger in his native land; he muſt be ignorant of human nature, and of courſe deficient in that underſtanding which is neceſſary to make him hold a reſpectable rank among his fellow creatures. "Hiſtory," ſays Cicero, "is the light of truth, the directreſs of life;" an encomium which diſplays all its advantages.

The importance of hiſtory to mankind.

It gives a knowledge of human nature.

Is there a ſingle errour, or hurtful prejudice, from which it cannot preſerve us, by the pictures it draws of the follies and illuſions by which men have been led aſtray? Is there a vice whoſe deformity and unhappy conſequences it does not repreſent by numberleſs examples? Or is there a virtue of which it does not inſpire the love, by rendering ſacred the names of the virtuous? Is there a ſituation in life, for which it does not afford ſome excellent inſtructions? Or is there a condition, from the throne of the king to the cloſet of the philoſopher,

Its effects upon the underſtanding and the heart.

philoſopher, which may not profit, in ſome degree, by the knowledge it communicates?

Two rules for the ſtudy of it: to ſeek the truth, and to confine ourſelves to what is uſeful.

But we ſhould be loſt in the immenſity of this career, if we were to run on at random, without ſome eſtabliſhed principles. Our ſtudies ought to be guided by two important rules: the firſt, to ſeek the truth in every thing; and the ſecond, to confine ourſelves to what is uſeful: otherwiſe, hiſtory itſelf would become a ſource of errour, and what it contains truly valuable would be loſt in a maſs of trifles.

Innumerable errours in ancient hiſtory.

Although every hiſtorian profeſſes to write nothing but the truth, the moſt part of our ancient hiſtories are filled with fables; and theſe fictions ſometimes appear again from the pens of modern writers. If an author of eſtabliſhed reputation has written falſehoods, it is thought a reaſon ſufficient for others to repeat them with a blind confidence; his authority impoſes upon them, and they are more pleaſed with believing than examining. Thus all the impoſitions, contrived or brought into credit by intereſt, vanity, ſuperſtition, ignorance, ſpirit of party, or popular prejudice, are ſo incorporated with the truth, that they deſcend together from age to age. Do we not daily meet with contradictory relations of the ſame facts; with deſcriptions, totally different, of the ſame perſon; with the moſt palpable untruths circulating in converſation, and finding admittance into books? From thence we may judge of the innumerable errours which have been tranſmitted to us from antiquity. Revelation alone is eſſentially true; every thing elſe has often been mixed with falſehood.

The ſource of errours and falſehoods in hiſtory.

If we had no hiſtorians but men of ſound judgment, clear underſtanding, and ſincerity, we needed only to collect the principal ſtrokes of their writings, to give a faithful picture of the nations and events which they have deſcribed: but unfortunately ſome have endeavoured to pleaſe by the wonderful, others to flatter their countrymen by chimeras; one ſet has confirmed thoſe ſuperſtitions by which they found themſelves gainers,

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and another been ſolicitous to gratify either national or perſonal hatred; ſome have been weakly credulous, and with great ſincerity repeated all the traditions which have been handed down to them; while others, who were deeper politicians, have uncandidly concealed in clouds of darkneſs thoſe truths which were oppoſite to their own intereſts, or the intereſts of their party.

The greateſt part have wanted proper aſſiſtance, and many have been ſeen without either truth or rectitude; we ſhould therefore be always upon our guard, and conſtantly guided by the rules of criticiſm and reaſon, both to prevent our falling into miſtakes, and to diſtinguiſh, among the fables and prejudices of antiquity, whatever is truly deſerving of a place in hiſtory. Fictions may find admiſſion, but only as monuments of the weakneſs of the human mind, and as proofs of the neceſſity of examining every ſubject upon which the ſeal of divine truth is not impreſſed.

Therefore we ſhould examine & judge.

With regard to hiſtorical facts, ſcepticiſm is not leſs unreaſonable than blind credulity. Becauſe there are a great number of fictions, are we therefore not to admit of any thing as certain? Is it ſufficient to reject a fact becauſe it is improbable? Ought not the number and quality of the witneſſes to be of weight in confirming the evidence? Can intelligent and diſintereſted cotemporaries be deceived, or deceive the world, in their account of public events? In a word, does not experience ſhew us that we fall equally into errour, by believing nothing, and by believing every thing? What Herodotus has tranſmitted to us of the Egyptian annals, is partly fabulous; and hence, it ſeems, we ſhould equally diſtruſt what he has related of the Egyptian monuments; but the pyramids, after the lapſe of ſo many ages, ſtill continue to corroborate the teſtimony of the hiſtorian. The prieſts of the country miſled him by their chimerical traditions; but what he ſaw he has truly deſcribed. Without attempting to diſcuſs ſuch an inexhauſtible ſubject, I ſhall only add, that we may obtain excellent

Sceptiſm as unreaſonable as exceſs of credulity.

Herodotus is a proof.

inſtruction, even by reaſoning on the probability of facts, where the certainty is not eſtabliſhed. How much are they ſtill ſuperiour to the fictions of romance!

To leave deep reſearches to the learned.

According to the rule which we have laid down, it is equally neceſſary to confine our inquiries to what is uſeful, as it is important to ſeek the truth. Let the learned who have a taſte for ſuch ſtudies give themſelves up to minute inquiries; let them dive into the depths of erudition, and examine every hiſtorical detail: perhaps few ſolid advantages can be derived from their reſearches; but they are maſters of their own time, and their labours entitle them to reſpect, when the reſult is an increaſe of knowledge to the literary world. The learned men of former ages, whoſe works are neglected at preſent, have been of great uſe to the public, by cultivating thoſe barren waſtes, where now are reaped moſt valuable harveſts. The learned moderns, who are more addicted to critical examination, have procured for us more ſolid acquiſitions. We have only to extract every poſſible advantage from their labours, and to employ for our own wants, what others have been at pains to procure as food for vain curioſity.

We derive advantage from their labours.

To learn only what is poſſible and uſeful to be retained.

The memory is generally too weak to ſupport the load of a very extenſive erudition; the human genius too limited to be able to perceive diſtinctly a vaſt multitude of objects when confounded together: beſides, the duties which we owe to the ſtate, or to ſociety, leave to very few people ſufficient time to trace hiſtory through its tedious windings. To graſp at more than we can poſſibly retain, is the way to know nothing, or, what is almoſt the ſame thing, to know imperfectly. Yet though we were capable of retaining all that we read, were it not better to learn to think? We very rarely ſee a correct judgment the companion of an extraordinary memory. Whoever wiſhes to be uſefully inſtructed, muſt forbid himſelf the knowledge of a number of things, and if he is wiſe, it will ſoon ceaſe to be a matter of affliction.

I do not underſtand the plan of ſtudy propoſed by the learned Langlet Dufreſnoy, at the beginning of his *Chronological Tables*. He preſcribes the reading all the original authors (a very good rule when it can be followed). He then calculates the time which this ſtudy requires, and with wonderful economy. He aſſigns, for example, twelve days for Herodotus; ten for Thucydides; ſix for Xenophon; twenty for Livy, with the ſupplements; ten for Polybius; as many for Tacitus, &c. We ſhould be apt to imagine that theſe hiſtorians were to be read like agreeable romances, and after having glanced them over leaf by leaf from beginning to end, the reader ſhould be able to retain, comprehend, and digeſt them. But, beſides that every man is not capable of reading the originals, without a miraculous capacity and penetration, what will ſuch a rapid peruſal produce, but an uſeleſs heap of words and confuſed ideas, which muſt ſmother good ſenſe, inſtead of procuring inſtruction? A ſimple knowledge of the world is greatly to be preferred to that pedantic learning, which inſtead of fruit is only productive of brambles.

Criticiſm on Langlet's plan of ſtudying.

If we have the good fortune to be capable of aſcending to the fountain head, and ſtudying the originals, we ought nevertheleſs to prefer what is uſeful, to thoſe objects which are only matter for learned diſquiſition. What muſt they do, who have neither the means nor time for applying to ſtudies of ſuch immenſe extent? It is in ſuch ſituations that we ſhould confine ourſelves to what is neceſſary. Then the knowledge of men, and what is principally intereſting to human nature; the ſprings of the paſſions, and the ſports of fortune; the virtues and vices of nations, and of remarkable characters in the world; the influence of laws and cuſtoms; the nature of governments; the principles and views of ſtate policy; the cauſes of the grandeur and decline of ſtates; the revolutions which have been effected by time, arms, or moral cauſes; events followed by great conſequences; the monuments of folly, as well as of genius,

Objects the moſt deſerving our attention.

genius and prudence; are ſubjects with which every one ought to be acquainted, ſince nothing can be ſo uſeful in forming the heart and mind, and improving the talents and the ſocial virtues. In ſtudying hiſtory, every individual will endeavour to find thoſe inſtructions which relate particularly to his own condition; but above all things we ſhould conſider that we are men and citizens, and if we make ourſelves perfect in theſe primary qualifications, the others will not remain unimproved.

Uncertainty of chronological ſyſtems.

By confining ourſelves to the principles with which we ſet out, and adhering only to what is true and uſeful, we ſhall not loſe time by following crowds of learned writers, who have waſted their lives in the darkneſs of ancient chronology. The deſign of ſhewing where different hiſtorians agree, and of reconciling ancient profane hiſtory with the holy ſcriptures, has given birth to more than three ſcore and ten different ſyſtems; a number ſufficient to prove their want of ſolidity; for if it were poſſible to diſentangle the chaos, what could ſo much learning and ſuch calculations produce, but contradictory ſyſtems? The difference which is found between the Hebrew text of the ſacred writings and the Vulgate, the Samaritan and the verſion of the Septuagint, afford a foundation for ſuppoſitions and conjectures. Uſher, a celebrated Engliſhman, in conformity to the Hebrew, fixes the beginning of the Chriſtian era, or the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, in the year of the world 4004. The greateſt part of the partiſans of the Samaritan, and amongſt the reſt the authors of the Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory, place this epocha in the year 4305. The common copies of the Septuagint fix it in the year 5270; and father Pezron, enlarging the calculation of the Septuagint, brings it to the year 5873. Thus, between the Septuagint of Pezron and the Hebrew of Uſher, the difference is 1869 years. The chronologiſts who have been the fondeſt of their ſyſtems ſucceed much worſe in proving the ſolidity of their own, than

Difference between the three texts of the holy ſcriptures.

in

in deſtroying thoſe of their adverſaries. They have all an infinite number of objections to anſwer. Even the great Newton, who engaged in this purſuit, and who leſſens the duration of the world, already ſo ſhort, can ſcarcely do more than increaſe our doubts.

Revelation ſhould come from ſaints, and not from the learned.

The greater the number of hypotheſes which are formed from particular paſſages in ſcripture, the more our doubts will be multiplied. Providence deſigned revelation to make men holy, not learned. Let us adore its oracles and myſteries, but let us not attempt to explain what is inexplicable. Let us be afraid of running into abſurdities, like the learned father Petau, who, being reſtricted by the limits of the Hebrew text, and peopling the earth according to the flights of his too fertile imagination, gives a hundred and fifty times more inhabitants to the world in leſs than three centuries after the deluge, than are ſuppoſed to be in it at preſent. *(Doct. Temp. lib.* ix. *c.* 4.)

Chimerical idea of father Petau.

The world proved to be not very ancient by all hiſtories, tho' the epochas are uncertain.

Profane hiſtory agrees with the Bible in proving almoſt a total deſtruction and renewal of the human race. Almoſt all of them repreſent the different nations at firſt ſavage, gradually acquiring the moſt neceſſary arts, and arriving at a knowledge of the ſciences after a long period of barbariſm. There are even viſible marks of the infancy of thoſe who pretend to the greateſt antiquity, which are ſufficient to ſatisfy a reaſonable curioſity. But when did the world begin? When was the earth depopulated by the deluge? When, and how, were new nations formed? In vain ſhall we attempt to know theſe things, ſince no monument either ſacred or profane has fixed theſe periods with preciſion.

Boſſuet's method of fixing the epochas obnoxious to criticiſm.

The illuſtrious Boſſuet, after the example of his predeceſſors, gives a date to the creation of the world, and affixes periods, taken principally from the ſcriptures, for all the events of ancient hiſtory, ſuch as the time of the deluge, the calling of Abraham, Moſes, or the written law, &c. He overleaps at one bound the immenſe difficulties we have been ſpeaking of; and, following the Hebrew,

Hebrew chronology with Uſher, he ſuppoſes that every thing naturally arranges itſelf in that narrow compaſs. But, however reſpectable the authority of theſe great men may be, their chronological ſyſtem is not the leſs difficult to ſupport; were it even probable, it could never be any thing but a ſyſtem; and where is the need of a ſyſtem? In every ſubject, but more particularly in hiſtory, we ſhould readily confeſs our ignorance, rather than give things as true which are at leaſt doubtful.

If it is proper to mix ſacred with profane hiſtory.

Beſides, the mixture of ſacred hiſtory with profane is perhaps as abſurd as that of theology with philoſophy. Every thing is ſupernatural on one ſide; on the other, natural: there, faith is required; here, reaſon. Religion ſhould be ſtudied in the Bible with humble docility; hiſtory, with a free and bold criticiſm. By confounding two ſtudies ſo diſſimilar, we ſhould be afraid of corrupting the ſimplicity of the faith, and changing hiſtory into frivolous conjecture.

Plan of this work.

To avoid this double miſtake, we ſhall neither affix a date to the creation nor to the deluge; we ſhall not mention the Jews but where they come into our general plan; and we ſhall briefly diſplay, without chronological order, or confounding the different ſubjects, whatever is moſt worthy of attention in the tranſactions of ancient nations, to the time of the Greeks and Romans, whoſe hiſtory leads us to that of the moderns, in which we are more particularly intereſted.

ELEMENTS

ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART FIRST.

General Obſervations upon the Ancients.

THE greateſt part of our ancient traditions ſpeak of thoſe times, when men were diſperſed over the face of the earth, wandering in woods, beſet with wants and dangers, ſolely employed in procuring ſubſiſtence, or in watching for their preſervation, and reduced almoſt to a level with the inſtinct of brutes; guided only by the impulſe of nature, and ignorant of all rules, laws, ſubordination, arts, or any permanent bond of ſociety. Many countries ſtill ſhew veſtiges of that ſavage ſtate, ſo humiliating to mankind.

Men were at firſt ſavages in many countries.

Nevertheleſs, man is naturally ſociable, and an inborn ſentiment attracts him to the individuals of his kind. Affection for a female and children diſpoſes him to form more extended connexions. Reciprocal aſſiſtance and neceſſities unite a number of theſe ſavages on different ſpots, ſometimes to defend themſelves againſt the attacks of wild beaſts, at others to procure neceſſary nouriſhment. The more they become ſenſible of the advantages of ſuch union, they grow more ſolicitous

The origin of ſociety.

ſolicitous to make it binding. Some tacit conventions form their firſt engagements, and a few rude cuſtoms ſupply the want of a regular police. It is for ſome time only a ſketch of ſociety, which does not root up barbariſm, nor introduce a love of virtue; every thing relates to, and is limited by, the calls of nature. If hunger urges the eating of human fleſh, and cuſtom gives a reliſh for it, perhaps men will, without ſcruple, become cannibals. The hiſtory of the four quarters of the world furniſhes more than one example of this horrid outrage againſt nature. To what exceſſes will not man reconcile himſelf, when he is hurried on by circumſtances, and without any curb to reſtrain him!

Anthropophagi.

To transform ſeparate hordes into nations, to erect them into empires, in one word to civilize men, it is neceſſary that ſeveral arts be ſucceſſively invented, and agriculture, which is the true ſource of civilization, be gradually introduced. It is neceſſary, before the fiery paſſion of love be checked, and marriage be firmly eſtabliſhed, to have an idea and the practice of ſome form of government; language ſhould be underſtood to a certain degree, and knowledge multiplied; and men ſhould have emerged from that ſtate of barbariſm in which almoſt all America is plunged at this day. What an immenſe ſpace muſt have intervened between that time and the invention of writing, or the art of preſerving the remembrance of facts, and even of thoughts! This is unqueſtionably one of the greateſt efforts of genius cultivated by the other arts. Hence the firſt authors of profane hiſtory could not have flouriſhed till a long time after the formation of ſtates; they could have no materials but vague and confuſed oral traditions, and therefore they have handed down to us nothing but a ſeries of fables upon the antiquities of their country.

Nations civilized by marriage, arts, and agriculture.

Writing but a late invention.

A proof of the uncertainty of ancient hiſtory.

Theſe fables, collected, and undoubtedly much amplified, by the Greeks, who were greater friends of the marvellous than of truth, have quite diſfigured ancient hiſtory.

The Greeks fond of fables.

hiſtory. Let us lay hold of the few valuable truths which are wrapped up in them, and, renouncing all uſeleſs diſcuſſions, begin with the Egyptians, not becauſe they are the moſt ancient people, but becauſe they afford matter of much valuable inſtruction.

ANCIENT

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

CHAP. I.

Ancient Hiſtory of Egypt.

Advantageous ſituation of Egypt.

EGYPT, which is ſituated between the twenty fourth and thirty third degrees of north latitude, is one of the countries of the world the moſt favoured by nature; the ſky is ſerene, the ſoil fertile, the plants and fruits agreeable and ſalutary: but a wonderful degree of induſtry would have been neceſſary to render it habitable for a conſiderable number of people. The overflowing of the Nile procures every advantage, and ſupplies the want of rain, which never falls in that country. That river has its ſource in a mountain in Abyſſinia, from whence it does not arrive in Egypt till after it has been precipitated over ſeven cataracts, with a noiſe which is heard at the diſtance of a number of leagues. It begins to ſwell in the month of May, and by a gradual increaſe, which is almoſt imperceptible at firſt, it arrives at a ſufficient height to overflow the country, and remains in that ſtate from the month of June till October. The Ancients, who were ignorant of the cauſes of the inundation, have aſſigned ſome fabulous reaſons, which will always be the caſe when people ſubſtitute conjectures inſtead of facts. At preſent we know that it rains in Ethiopia five months of the year, from April to September, which is the ſecret of the overflowing of the Nile; and the precious mud which it depoſits produces the amazing fertility of Egypt: thus lands, which are naturally dry and ſandy, become the beſt ſoil in the world.

The Nile.

Cauſe & effects of the overflowing of the Nile.

world. They need only ſow, without almoſt any culture, to reap, in a very ſhort time, all the natural productions. Egypt, during the ſummer, appears like a ſea, with cities, villages, and thickets, ſcattered over it, and affording a moſt wonderful and ſingular proſpect; in the winter it becomes a gladſome plain, covered with flocks, herds, and huſbandmen, where orange, citron, and other fragrant trees are ſeen, whoſe flowers delight the eye and perfume the ſurrounding air. Modern travellers give nearly the ſame deſcription with the Ancients.

Egypt a moſt ſingular view.

This beautiful country, which was one of the firſt inhabited by man in a civilized ſtate, is naturally the land of fable. The ancient Egyptian chronologiſts trace back innumerable ages. The truth is, that the Theban prieſts, according to Herodotus's account, who was informed upon the ſpot, only gave eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years duration to their monarchy, while others were ſcarce content with a hundred thouſand years. From their firſt king to Sethon, they reckoned preciſely 341 generations, 341 kings, 341 pontiffs; a calculation which appears ſufficiently abſurd, only by the repetition of the ſame number. Manetho, the Egyptian prieſt, who wrote about three hundred years before Jeſus Chriſt, and whoſe authority appeared reſpectable even in the eyes of the hiſtorian Joſephus, relates, that Egypt was at firſt governed by gods and demigods. Vulcan, who was the firſt, according to his account, reigned nine thouſand years. To theſe chimerical divinities, he adds a ſeries of thirty one dynaſties, giving the names of all the princes whom he ſuppoſes to have reigned over Egypt, in ſucceſſion, for the ſpace of more than five thouſand years. Petau and ſome other learned men reject theſe dynaſties as fabulous, while Marſham and Pezron receive them as well founded. They conjecture, that, inſtead of being ſucceſſive, they were collateral; that is to ſay, they reigned at the ſame time; and they have diſplayed all their learning

Fabulous chronology of the Egyptians

The dynaſties of Manetho rejected by ſome, and received by others.

How barren the labours of the learned on this ſubject.

learning in endeavouring to reconcile them with ſcripture chronology. But can annals, filled only with names, and almoſt totally void of facts, deſerve ſuch profound application? The learned, like geometricians, frequently endeavour to ſignalize themſelves by wonderful combinations, which in the end produce nothing but ſurpriſe; the laſt, however, ſhew the truth of their calculations, while the firſt can ſcarce render their conjectures probable, when they plunge themſelves into the abyſs of ages. Egypt was become a kingdom in Abraham's time, and the Jews did not even make a body ſufficient to be called a nation. This proof of antiquity is the more ſtriking, as the Vulgate makes only four hundred and twenty ſix years between the calling of Abraham and the deluge.

The antiquity of Egypt according to ſcripture.

Iſis, Oſiris, Hermes, &c. deified for their ſervices.

Let us paſs by the fables of Iſis, Oſiris, Typhon, Hermes (likewiſe called Mercury, Thoth, and Triſmegiſtus) to whom the Egyptians were indebted for the knowledge of almoſt all the arts and ſciences, and whoſe books, according to Manetho, amounted to more than thirty ſix thouſand five hundred.* It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that Oſiris, according to the Egyptians, poliſhed the nation, which was at that time ſavage; that Iſis, his wife and ſiſter, ſhared with him in his divine honours; that that God, having undertaken to civilize the other nations by the charms of eloquence, poetry and muſic, was killed by his brother Typhon, at his return from his glorious expedition; and, laſtly, that the principal deities were men to whom divine honours were paid, for ſome eminent ſervices which they rendered to mankind.

Interval from the time of Menes.

From the time of Menes, firſt king of Egypt (whom ſerious authors ſuppoſe to have been the ſon of Cham, and grandſon of Noah) to that of the celebrated Seſoſtris, we find an immenſe interval, in which are placed the ſhepherd kings of Arabia, that made the conqueſt of

* The learned believe that there were ſeveral Hermeſes, as there were ſeveral Zoroaſters in Perſia.

of Egypt. Beſides, in this ſpace of time, there is nothing to attract the attention, except the palace or tomb of Oſymandias, and the lake Mœris. The moſt ancient library in the world was in the palace of Oſymandias, and had this inſcription written upon it, *Phyſic of the Soul*; a true and ſublime inſcription, if applied only to good books, bad books being rather a poiſon than a medicine. The lake, which was dug by order of Mœris, in the midſt of which two pyramids were erected, received the waters of the Nile, either to obviate the inconvenience of too great an inundation, or to ſupply the want of a ſufficient overflowing of the river; for it was neceſſary that the Nile ſhould riſe at leaſt fifteen cubits, to prevent a ſcarcity. If we were to believe Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, who are copied by Boſſuet, this lake was three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs, or a hundred and eighty leagues, in circumference, and three hundred feet deep; a moſt incredible exaggeration! Pomponius Mela, one of the beſt geographers of antiquity, reduces the circumference of the lake Mœris to twenty thouſand paces; and the accounts of modern travellers make it only twelve or fifteen leagues. Thus we ſee into what miſtakes the Ancients lead us, when we receive their teſtimony without examination.

Oſymandias's library.

The lake Mœris badly deſcribed by the Ancients.

Lucas's Voyages, vol. 3.

What is related of Seſoſtris deſerves as little credit. The father of that conqueror, being informed of the fate of his ſon by an oracle, gave him ſuch an education as was beſt calculated to make him a hero. All the children who were born on the ſame day with Seſoſtris were bred up to uſe violent exerciſes, and to endure military fatigues. He was ſcarcely mounted on the throne, after his father's death, when he undertook the conqueſt of the world. His young companions, to the number of ſeventeen hundred,* were appointed officers in

Fables told of Seſoſtris.

His conqueſts.

* The author of *The Origin of Laws, &c.* proves, by a judicious calculation, that if the number is juſt according to Diodorus, there ſhould have been 60 millions of inhabitants in Egypt. There are reckoned only 27 millions.

in his army, which conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot, twenty four thouſand horſe, and twenty ſeven thouſand war chariots. A numerous fleet covered the ſea, although the Egyptians from ſuperſtition abhorred ſailing. Seſoſtris firſt ſubdued Ethiopia, then paſſed into Aſia, penetrating farther into the Indies than had been done by Bacchus or Hercules; he attacked Scythia, Colchis, and Thrace; and being obliged to return, though without having derived any advantage from his victories, he found a conſpiracy formed againſt him by his brother Danaus or Armais; having diſperſed it, he employed his whole attention to the making his people happy, after having carried deſtruction, and all the horrors of war, to ſo great a diſtance. Magnificent temples, innumerable canals, immenſe cauſeways, upon which towns were built, but more particularly the inſtitution of good laws, are the monuments of his profound wiſdom. It is likewiſe remarked, that he learnt politics and the art of governing from Mercury.

His return and his works.

His barbarous pride

Nevertheleſs, we are told at the ſame time, that when he went to the temple, his chariot was drawn by vanquiſhed princes, on purpoſe to diſplay his grandeur; but it could only ſerve as a proof of his egregious barbarity. It is ſaid, that to ſpare his own people, he employed none but foreigners and captives in the execution of his works; and he might thereby be entitled to our praiſe, if humanity did not reproach him with ſacrificing ſuch multitudes to his iniquitous ambition.

He made none but foreigners labour in his works.

Trifling conjectures about Seſoſtris.

As the ſlighteſt reſemblance is ſufficient ſometimes for the learned to erect ſyſtems, father Tournemin, and Rollin after him, judge that Seſoſtris is probably that king of Egypt, who firſt oppreſſed the people of Iſrael. What probability is there that ſuch a fierce and formidable conqueror could ſay of the Iſraelites, *They are more mightier than we?* (Exodus, ch. i. v. 9.) All that ſeems to me to be depended on is, that the Egyptians had a king of the name of Seſoſtris; that that prince did ſome remarkable things, and was a conqueror and legiſlator; but

but as to his conqueſts, and other circumſtances of his life, we know ſcarce any thing but contradictory fables. From his time the kingdom went continually to decay, which is the common conſequence of acquiring too extenſive dominion.

The continuation of the Egyptian hiſtory, ſuch as we have it from Herodotus, who received his information from the prieſts of that country, is equally fabulous; but that darkneſs was a little diſperſed in the reign of Pſammeticus, about ſix hundred and ſeventy years before Jeſus Chriſt. That prince opened his ports to foreigners, and his people carried on commerce with the Greeks; yet even in this period Herodotus mentions a very ſingular abſurdity. He aſſures us, that Pſammeticus, being deſirous to know what nation in the world was of greateſt antiquity, thought proper to have two children ſo brought up that they could never hear a ſingle word ſpoken. At two years old, they both at once cried out *beccos*, which in the Phrygian language ſignifies bread, and from that time the Egyptians yielded the claim of higher antiquity to the Phrygians: a very extraordinary experiment, ſays Rollin, *if however the fact deſerves to be credited.* It was well that the French author did not adopt Herodotus's fable, which he relates with all its circumſtances. One of the learned, Goropius Becanus, has gone ſtill farther, and from the ſame ſtory brings a proof that the high Dutch is the mother language, becauſe *becker* in that language ſignifies a baker.

Pſammeticus. The Egyptian hiſtory becomes clearer.

Nechos, the ſon of Pſammeticus, undertook to dig a canal of communication between the river Nile and the Red Sea. This great project was aſcribed to Seſoſtris; but the execution muſt have proved fatal, if it is true, as ſome authors alledge, that the level of the Red Sea is higher than the country of Egypt; however, Nechos is ſaid to have renounced the ſcheme, after having loſt a hundred and twenty thouſand men in the attempt.

Undertaking of Nechos.

During

During his reign, and by his orders, ſome Phœnician navigators ſailed round the coaſts of Africa.

Amaſis was famous about 570 years bef. Chriſt

Solon and Pythagoras in Egypt.

His ſon Apries was dethroned by Amaſis, whoſe reign was greatly celebrated, becauſe he favoured commerce, and induced the Greeks to come into his kingdom. He was viſited by Solon; and Pythagoras got himſelf initiated about that time in the Egyptian myſteries. Although Amaſis was eſtabliſhed on his throne, he obſerved that the obſcurity of his birth expoſed him to a degree of contempt; and the method which he tried, to diſpel this prejudice, is very remarkable. He cauſed a ſtatue of the divinity to be formed out of a gold ciſtern, in which not only he, but his gueſts, uſed to have their feet waſhed, and it very ſoon became the object of the people's worſhip and adoration. Having aſſembled the Egyptians ſome time after, he told them, that the god whom they worſhipped had been formerly deſtined to the meaneſt uſes; he therefore concluded, that they ought to reſpect him as their king, whatever was his origin. Undoubtedly the prudence of his government contributed much more to fix the veneration of the people.

Egypt ſubdued by the Perſians.

The reign of Pſammeticus, ſon of Amaſis, is the period when that famous monarchy was ſubdued. Cambyſes, king of Perſia, the ſon of Cyrus, reduced it, as we ſhall have occaſion to mention in another place, about five hundred and twenty-five years before the Chriſtian era. The god Apis was killed, the temples reduced to aſhes, and the prieſts ſcourged with ignominy. Egypt continued enſlaved, or tributary to the Perſians, till Alexander overthrew the throne of Cyrus: it then was formed into a new monarchy, which will be mentioned in its proper place.

Let us proceed to ſubjects more worthy of attention. The government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, the arts and ſciences of the Egyptians, deſerve our regard. Let us examine them like men who ſearch for fundamental truths, rather than for events.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

Of the Government and Laws of the Egyptians.

Origin of civil government.

WHEN men in a ſavage ſtate firſt united and formed themſelves into ſocieties; when experience convinced them that by ſubmitting to laws they could acquire ſtrength, and with leſs liberty enjoy more happineſs; they then choſe a chief, whoſe power was limited by certain ſtipulations. Monarchy was the kind of government to be found among all the ancient nations. Simplicity made it ſuitable to the cuſtoms and wants of early times, and it ſeems to have had its ſource from paternal authority. Several families, forming one ſociety, were governed like a ſingle family, and the duty of a king was to defend and guide his ſubjects as a father would his children. It then became neceſſary that ſome individual ſhould command, and they ſubmitted to kings.

Monarchy the moſt ancient & moſt natural government.

Progreſs of monarchy.

But royalty at firſt was only the ſhadow of what it neceſſarily muſt be after a time. The more the people became poliſhed, the more they were in general pliant and obedient. On the one hand, ſtrength and political ſkill; on the other, the common good and general conſent of the people, gradually increaſed the royal power. That which was ſometimes uſurpation at firſt, became juſt, by procuring the ſanction of the laws and general approbation. Mankind never willingly bear the yoke of tyranny, but they eaſily accuſtom themſelves to ſerve, as a maſter, the man whom they look upon as a protector. The crown, which being the gift of the people was at firſt elective, could not fail in time to become commonly hereditary, becauſe public tranquillity requires an order of ſucceſſion; thus the valuable right of governing a whole people is inherited like that of paternal property, and although attended with ſome inconveniences, yet ought to be ſubmitted to, that greater evils may be avoided. Thus

Crown hereditary.

The king of Egypt ſubjected to the laws.

Thus monarchy was eſtabliſhed in Egypt from time immemorial, where it was ſubject to the laws, which controlled even the moſt minute actions of the prince. His court, according to their ſyſtem, could not be compoſed but of people of the moſt acknowledged merit; which was an excellent means of baniſhing vice and flattery, if it could have continued practicable. The proviſions for his table, and even the employment of his time, were regulated with a moſt rigid prudence. The people had too great a reſpect for him to reproach him for any impropriety of conduct, but he was acquainted with his faults indirectly. Every morning, when he came to the temple, the chief prieſt pronounced a diſcourſe upon the royal virtues, deſcribing in the moſt lively colours the exceſſes into which ſurpriſe or ignorance might hurry a prince, ſuppoſing him incapable of falling into them of his own accord, and loading with imprecations whoever miſled him by improper advice. When the ſacrifice was at an end, they continued to inſtruct him by reading the moſt excellent maxims, and ſuch pieces of hiſtory as were beſt calculated to inſpire him with a love of virtue. Religion, which was held in the higheſt reverence in Egypt, could make this practice of the greateſt effect; and ſubduing the haughty hearts of ſovereigns to a proper ſenſe of their duty is the moſt honourable triumph for religion. It is here evident, that at this time the prieſts governed almoſt every thing in the kingdom.

The method of acquainting him with his duty.

The power of religion.

Cuſtom of judging the dead, even their kings.

The cuſtom of judging the kings as well as the meaneſt of the people after their death, was boaſted of as an excellent inſtitution. Every one had a right to appear as an accuſer, and the people were the judges; if the proofs againſt the dead perſon appeared deciſive, he was deprived of the rights of interment. By this means the ſovereigns found that they were accountable to their ſubjects for their actions; and the idea of being expoſed to ſuch a trial ought to make them reſpect men, and regard their own duty; even if we were to

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe (which I very much doubt) that the people durſt attempt to tarniſh the memory of a wicked prince, if it was the intereſt of his ſucceſſour to defend him.

Notwithſtanding the impreſſion which was made by the dread of leaving a character of diſhonour behind them, this ſalutary cuſtom derived its principal utility, perhaps, from a trifling and abſurd opinion. It is ſaid, that the Egyptians believed that the ſoul remained attached to the body until its putrefaction; they looked upon interment as eſſential to their future happineſs; and they hoped, by the help of embalming, they would ſurvive their bodies in their tombs, for a number of ages. The world is often governed by prejudices; and it would be well if they were directed to the good of the public. Thus the perſuaſion, that future happineſs or miſery could depend upon the living, became one of the main ſprings of political government united to their ſyſtem of religion.

Prejudice rendered this cuſtom uſeful.

Hiſtorians have attributed to Seſoſtris the diviſion of Egypt into thirty ſix *nômes* or departments, which he truſted to thoſe men who were the moſt worthy of governing. Nothing is more neceſſary for a great kingdom, where the eye of the prince requires the aſſiſtance of ſo many others. The lands were divided between the king, the prieſts and the ſoldiery. Such a diviſion proclaims deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, rather than an equitable government. It was undoubtedly very proper that the defenders of the country ſhould be perſonally intereſted in its preſervation, becauſe the holding of poſſeſſions was a motive to inſpire them with courage; but ſo extenſive a property could not fail to infuſe a ſpirit of effeminacy. The Egyptians were a cowardly people, almoſt always enſlaved. Mercenaries, ſubject to proper diſcipline, would have been of more value to the ſtate than theſe ſoldiers, who were born rather to enjoy the comforts of life, than to endure the fatigues of war.

The kingdom divided into departments.

Diviſion of the lands.

The ſhare of the military.

As to the prieſts, their immenſe poſſeſſions were looked upon with the more reverence, as they pretended that

Great power of the prieſts

that they held them of Iſis herſelf. The third of the lands, joined to the reſpect which a regard for religion inſpired for them, with an exemption from all impoſts and public burdens, rendered them ſo powerful, that the authority of the prieſthood could not be counterbalanced by the civil power; and it is impoſſible to look upon the public inſtitutions, but as the work of their hands. They governed the kings and the people; they were at the head of the council; the principal dignities, the adminiſtration of juſtice, the archives and annals, in one word, the laws and opinions were in ſome degree in their poſſeſſion. I leave it then to be judged, whether their traditions, collected by the Greeks, deſerve much to be credited.

Contradiction about taxes

Some hiſtorians tell us, that the lands of the military were not ſubject to taxation, any more than the lands held by the prieſts. Upon whom then did the taxes fall? or were there no taxes? On the other hand, Herodotus tells us, that Seſoſtris divided the lands, and impoſed a tax in proportion to the quantity poſſeſſed by every individual. It would only be loſs of time, to endeavour to clear up ſuch contradictions, which are ſo common in ancient hiſtory.

Grand tribunal; manner of adminiſtering juſtice.

The Egyptians knew that the happineſs of a well regulated ſtate depended above all things upon the faithful adminiſtration of juſtice; without which, if crimes went unpuniſhed, the common ruin could not fail to enſue. Their grand tribunal was compoſed of thirty judges, ſelected from the three capitals, Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes; Egypt being divided into three parts. The prince, when he inſtalled the judges, made them take an oath, that they would not obey him if he commanded them to pronounce an unjuſt ſentence. He provided for their ſupport, and no ſpeck of ſelfiſhneſs could ſtain ſo noble a profeſſion. Leſt the power and arts of eloquence ſhould prevail over equity, their buſineſs was carried on by writing; and even the manner in which they pronounced their decrees was accompanied

panied with ſomething ſolemn and holy; the preſident touching with a figure of truth the perſon whoſe right was acknowledged, it was never doubted that truth had dictated the ſentence. Such is the picture drawn by hiſtorians, which, if it is not after nature, is at leaſt apparently after the common rules and principles. When we come to ſpeak of the manners of this people, ſome doubts of the propriety of the encomiums which have been laviſhed upon thoſe magiſtrates may ariſe. The magiſtracy, and even the prieſthood, were always tinctured with the prevailing opinions of the people.

Laws of Egypt.

Of all the benefits of ſociety, the laws are unqueſtionably the greateſt, as being the ſource of the reſt. At a time when ſcarce any other nation was acquainted with civil government, the laws were arrived at great perfection in Egypt. Menes had the honour of being ſuppoſed to be the inſtitutor of marriage. A brother and ſiſter could be married, becauſe Oſiris and Iſis had ſet the example; and thus ſuperſtition rendered ſacred what ſound morals ſhould proſcribe. Polygamy was permitted, except to the prieſts; yet it appears certain, notwithſtanding the univerſal practice in eaſtern countries, that it is neither conformable to the intentions of nature, nor the intereſts of ſociety; for the number of females is nearly equal to the males, and the education of children requires that the father and mother ſhould be cloſely united. They puniſhed adultery ſeverely, as a crime moſt injurious to ſociety in its effects, ſince it ſtrikes at the very foundation of civil order. The man who was guilty was puniſhed with a thouſand laſhes, and the woman had her noſe cut off. Soldiers who were guilty of cowardice were puniſhed only with ſome marks of infamy, as ſhame ought to be more terrible than death to a military man. The falſe accuſer was ſubject to the puniſhment which the accuſed was expoſed to have ſuffered if he had been found guilty. They who were guilty of forgery, or counterfeiting money, had their hands cut off. The ſecurity of men's lives

Marriage of brother and ſiſter.

Polygamy.

Puniſhment of adultery, cowardice, calumny &c.

Punishments for murder & parricide.

lives being the firſt object of legiſlation, homicide was puniſhed with death, even when committed upon a ſlave. Whoever could have ſaved the life of a man attacked by murderers, and did not do it, was equally condemned to ſuffer death. If they could not prevent the murder, they were to give information of the guilty perſon, under pain of being ſcourged. The town next to the place where the dead body was found was obliged to bury it, and be at the expenſe of a coſtly funeral; which was an additional motive for watching the ſafety of the people. A father who murdered his own child was only condemned to hold the dead body, for three days and nights, graſped in his arms, in the middle of the guard who ſurrounded him; judging, undoubtedly, that the power of nature, and the diſgrace, muſt prove his ſevereſt executioner. Women with child, according to the dictates of humanity, were not executed until they were delivered; and the laws ordained that all the children were to be preſerved and educated. We ſhall ſee ſome nations, without any ſcruple, exceedingly inhuman in this reſpect, either from the difficulty of procuring ſuſtenance, or from ſome other motive.

Education of the children.

Laws concerning debtors.

Every individual was looked upon as belonging to the ſtate, and therefore the property and not the perſon of the debtor was to be anſwerable for his debts, ſo that they were unacquainted with thoſe violences which occaſioned ſo much trouble in ancient Rome. Aſychis found an effectual method of ſecuring fidelity in commerce, by ordering the debtor to pledge the embalmed body of his father with his creditor, and if he died without redeeming it, he was to be deprived of the right of interment. This was binding down the Egyptians by the ſtrongeſt tie, ſince opinion had abſolute power over them.

Laws againſt idleneſs & miſconduct.

One of the beſt laws is that of Amaſis, by which every individual was obliged annually to declare his profeſſion, and by what means he ſubſiſted, to the governour of the province; and every one was expoſed to ſuffer death

who

who could not give an account of his conduct, or ſhew that he lived by honeſt means. This puniſhment was undoubtedly very ſevere, ſince there was no other could be inflicted for the moſt enormous crimes. But the intention of the law was excellent. It impoſed the neceſſity of being uſeful; baniſhed idleneſs, fraud, and other plagues of ſociety; and made every citizen accountable to the ſtate for his actions. Solon made it a law at Athens. Is it then impoſſible, in theſe days, to reduce a ſet of wretches, whoſe idleneſs makes them dangerous members of the community, to an honeſt employment, without puniſhing them with death, contrary to the law of nature? Might not ſome real advantage be derived to the public from their chaſtiſement?

Abuſe of hereditary profeſſions.

The ancient law which eſtabliſhed different ranks among the citizens, entirely diſtinct from one another, and which obliged the children to follow the profeſſions of their fathers, certainly does not deſerve all the encomiums which have been beſtowed upon it. "They "executed better," ſays Boſſuet, "that which they had "always ſeen done, and which was their ſole employ-"ment during their infancy." They execute better, to be ſure, if they had the requiſite talents, and followed good morals. Do we find at preſent that the beſt handicraftſmen, or the more renowned artiſts, are thoſe who had a workſhop for their cradle? What ſhall I ſay of thoſe profeſſions, where ſtudy, reflection and genius are more indiſpenſably neceſſary? A ſimilar law in Europe would have perpetuated a grievance; for, as was the caſe in Egypt, it would have placed an invincible obſtruction in the way of every attempt to arrive at perfection, and would have chained down the greateſt part of thoſe geniuſes, who have enlightened and done honour to human nature; in the duſt, or at leaſt in obſcurity. True policy will never attempt to reſtrain emulation; it encourages the neceſſary arts, but more particularly agriculture, ſufficiently to leave no room to be apprehenſive for their being neglected; it eſti-

mates

mates the different abilities of men, and aſſigns to each his proper rank: but, far from raiſing up a hateful diſtinction between the different claſſes of citizens, it endeavours to unite them into one body; and the rather, becauſe if any one claſs was to increaſe too much, it would prove fatal to thoſe of fewer numbers. The confounding of ranks is a neceſſary evil in great monarchies; and it is the duty of lawgivers to guard againſt the principal inconveniences. According to ſome writers, every profeſſion was honoured in Egypt: but that is another miſtake; for they deteſted that of a ſhepherd, though their flocks were numerous, and the paſtoral life had ſo many charms for men in the early ages.

Law favourable for thieves

We may obſerve many other errours in the legiſlation of that celebrated nation. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the thieves had a chief, with whom all their ſtolen goods were depoſited; and that by applying to him, and ſpecifying the nature and circumſtances of the robbery, people were ſure of recovering what they loſt, only by paying a quarter of the value; and this cuſtom was paſſed into a law: ſo that we ſee theft in ſome degree authorized and rewarded. The teſtimony of Diodorus is to be ſuſpected on many occaſions; but will the admirers of Egyptian wiſdom reject his teſtimony? Let us acknowledge, that both the good and the bad are equally to be doubted in many eſſential points.

We come now to examine abuſes of a more extraordinary kind, thoſe of ſuperſtition.

CHAP. III.

Of the Religion and Manners of the Egyptians.

The advantage of religion.

Superſtition debaſes it, & produces fatal effects.

IF we look upon religion only as one of the ſtrongeſt links of ſociety, and one of the moſt affecting motives to attach us to our duty, it is entitled to our higheſt regard, abſtracted from the love and gratitude we owe to the Supreme Being; but, unhappily, ſuperſtition degrades and debaſes it, and, by abuſing the greateſt poſſible

ble good, produces the greateſt calamities. If we were to attempt to cure mankind of a contagious diſtemper with which almoſt the whole race are afflicted, hiſtory affords numberleſs examples, which cannot be too much inſiſted on.

The Deity manifeſts himſelf in his works. If we but contemplate the ſtructure of the univerſe, the organization of its inhabitants, the order and harmony of its immenſe ſpheres, we cannot fail to acknowledge and adore the omnipotent and ſole Creator. Yet religion, which at firſt was pure and ſimple, has been every where ſtifled under a heap of monſtrous extravagances. The human mind, inſtead of humbling itſelf before an Infinite Being, places ſome ridiculous phantoms in the room of the Almighty, whoſe greatneſs is beyond its powers to conceive; and impoſture, fear, and idle fancy, realize and multiply thoſe phantoms inceſſantly. Sometimes even abſurdity, under the awful name of religion, ſubdues ſuperiour underſtandings, and levels them with the ſervile minds of the ignorant vulgar. In proportion as men ſet up ridiculous deities, that are more miſchievous than beneficent, they impoſe ſome barbarous, ſenſeleſs duties upon themſelves, either with a view of pleaſing or averting the anger of thoſe wretched objects of their adoration. Thus ſuperſtition, under a thouſand different ſhapes, becomes the reproach and ſcourge of the human race.

Notwithſtanding ſuperſtition, an idea of a Supreme Being preſerved in Egypt.

Of Iſis & Oſiris.

Univerſal Hiſtory, I. 373.

Some men of ſuperiour underſtanding in Egypt preſerved the idea of a Supreme Being; to whom they gave different names, and whoſe attributes were repreſented by them under different ſymbols. Plutarch mentions the following inſcription on an Egyptian temple: *I am all that has been, is, and ever ſhall be; no mortal has ever raiſed up the veil with which I am covered.* And the following ſtill ſubſiſts: *To thee, who, being one, art all things, the Goddeſs Iſis.* They that were initiated in the religious myſteries of Egypt were taught to believe in the unity of God; but it is equally certain, that from thence the

the ſenſeleſs pagan fables were derived, which contaminated the divine worſhip with diſgraceful follies; and ſuperſtition plunged them into the extreme of madneſs and ſtupidity.

Egyptian idolatry.

They probably began by worſhipping the ſtars, but more particularly the ſun and moon, which were known to them by the names of Oſiris and Iſis. This is the moſt natural origin of idolatry. In loſing ſight of the Creator, the tranſition was eaſy to miſtake the ſtars for the rulers of nature, which they enlivened and cheriſhed. Admiration or gratitude made them in the next place deify mortals; and they concluded all by worſhipping animals; which is a kind of religious reverence, in whatever light it can be viewed, that muſt evidently appear to be the laſt ſtage of ſuperſtitious delirium. The ſilence of hiſtorians forbids our giving credit to Juvenal, when he accuſes the Egyptians of even worſhipping plants, and more particularly the Onion.

Animal deities.

Apis, the principal divinity, which repreſented Seſoſtris, was a black bull with peculiar ſpots. The honours which they paid to him, the expenſe for his ſupport, the deſpair which was expreſſed at his death, and the anxiety to find a ſucceſſour, would ſeem incredible, if any thing of that kind can be ſo. The cat, the ichneumon, the dog, the ibis, the falcon, the wolf, and the crocodile, were among the number of their deities. They ſpared no expenſe in ſupporting them magnificently, and people of the higheſt rank thought it an honour to ſerve them: the pomp at their funerals was of a piece with theſe ridiculous inſtances of profuſion.

Exceſſive zeal for theſe animals.

To kill one of theſe ſacred animals, though involuntarily, was reckoned one of the moſt enormous crimes; and the guilty perſon was always puniſhed with death. A Roman ſoldier, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the king, and the terrour of the Roman name, was torn in pieces by the populace, for having killed a cat by accident. Diodorus, who relates this ſtory, adds, that in

in the time of a famine the Egyptians would rather feed upon one another, than touch one of theſe creatures.

They likewiſe had the misfortune to differ in their opinions and religious ceremonies. In one place they worſhipped the crocodile; in another, the ichneumon, the enemy of the crocodile: in one province they were afraid to kill a ſheep, and lived upon the fleſh of goats; while, in another, goats were ſuperſtitiouſly reſpected, and they lived upon mutton: from whence ſprung reproaches of impiety, hatred, and quarrels. According to Diodorus, this was owing to the policy of a prudent king, who, to prevent his ſubjects from revolting, ſowed diſcord in the provinces, by giving to each of them a different deity. But, ſuppoſing this to be true, he muſt be reckoned an enemy to his ſubjects; for, by expoſing them to religious quarrels, they were in danger of inteſtine and irreconcilable wars. Diviſions occaſioned by this worſhip.

When once ſuperſtition takes root among men, it ſhews itſelf by ſpringing up in a thouſand hideous ſhapes. In the beginning of their eſtabliſhment, the Egyptians ſacrificed human victims: they reckoned it a duty neither to eat beans nor wheat; and their bread was made of *olyra*, probably rice. They abhorred ſome animals as unclean, eſpecially hogs. They looked upon foreigners with a religious averſion, and to ſuch a degree, that they durſt not eat with them, nor make uſe of any utenſil belonging to them, nor even put a bit of meat into their mouths which had been cut with one of their knives. On the feaſt of Iſis, both men and women ſcourged themſelves; and committed moſt horrid indecencies, on that of Diana. They conſulted their animal deities as oracles. Circumciſion was practiſed from time immemorial in Egypt; and Pythagoras was obliged to ſubmit to it, that he might enjoy the converſation of the prieſts. Different Egyptian ſuperſtitions.

Theſe prieſts, who might have been of the greateſt uſe in improving the manners of the people, enſlaved and governed them by ſuperſtition; and, by being the ſole Exceſſive power of the Egyptian prieſts.

ſole depoſitaries of ſcience, made them believe whatever they pleaſed. Their exceſſive power ſhews, that the ſprings of government were forged by them, or that they made the people ſubject to a ruling power, connected with their order. When the reigning family happened to be extinct, a prieſt was raiſed to the throne; a military man might be elected, but it was neceſſary that he ſhould be admitted into the prieſthood. Sethon, prieſt of Vulcan, having by this means obtained the crown, imprudently affected to deſpiſe the ſoldiery, whom he deprived of their privileges; but when he had occaſion afterwards for their aſſiſtance, both officers and men refuſed to defend him; ſo that, according to the Egyptian fables, Vulcan was obliged to ſave him by a miracle.

A king choſen from the prieſthood

Undoubtedly the Egyptian prieſts in general knew the folly of ſome of the errours which they taught; for their ſecret theology, though mixed with fable, was much ſuperiour to the popular credulity; they even had moſt ſublime ideas of the Infinite Being. But wherefore had they ſecret doctrines, to keep the people in ignorance? or why conceal the moſt important truths from the public? why leave them to ſtupify themſelves in fatal blindneſs? or wherefore diſhonour God by follies, or torment mankind by ridiculous chimeras? It was falſe or cruel policy. I grant, that it was extremely difficult to inform the minds of ſuch a ſuperſtitious people; for in attempting to work their cure, there was room to apprehend that they might not only be hurt, but enraged: however, beneficent truth inſinuates itſelf every where, and by wiſe precautions always ſucceeds. It is not to be doubted that the prieſts introduced myſteries, only becauſe they found eſtabliſhed ſuperſtitions were uſeful to them. The ſmall number of candidates whom they condeſcended to initiate, did not obtain that favour until they had undergone long trials; as they were deſirous in the firſt place to be aſcertained of the perſon, and in the next to give an appearance of greater conſequence to the myſteries.

Policy of theſe prieſts.

Intereſt made them conceal the truth.

Trials of candidates.

The

The manners of the Egyptians were as fantaſtical as their religion. Reſpect for parents and for old age, gratitude for benefits, love of peace, and an attachment to old cuſtoms, made their principal virtues; to which they added great faults, and a number of vices. Idle and effeminate, they employed themſelves in ſpinning; while the women, who were miſtreſſes at home, likewiſe managed their buſineſs abroad. They obliged the female and not the male children to take care of their parents; they deſpiſed and hated foreigners; they fancied nothing could be good or beautiful which was not of their own country: prejudices exceedingly injurious to ſociety, and deſtructive of the public good. In vain does Plato celebrate their diſlike to novelty, and ſome of the greateſt geniuſes fruitleſsly declare to us with enthuſiaſm, that "a new cuſtom was a wonder in Egypt, "where every thing was conſtantly carried on in the "ſame track; where that preciſion, with which they "attended to the execution of ſmall matters, ſupported "thoſe of the greateſt conſequence; and accordingly "that no people had ever ſo long preſerved their laws "and cuſtoms." *(Boſſuet's diſcourſe upon univerſal hiſtory.)* Where is the merit in preſerving bad laws mixed with good, ridiculous practices with reſpectable cuſtoms, and the moſt ſtupid ſuperſtitions with religious ſentiments? To refute ſuch a paradox, nothing is wanted but the example of Egypt, upon which theſe writers reſt their opinions. There, every thing was conſtantly carried on in the ſame manner; which is a ſufficient reaſon for ſo many being badly executed. Abuſes are not corrected; laws, cuſtoms, or arts, cannot be brought to perfection, without changes. Novelty is frequently hurtful, but it is likewiſe often neceſſary; and without it neither the Egyptians nor any other people could have emerged out of barbariſm; without it, what purpoſes could our reaſon ſerve, which, by its gradual progreſs, ſhould contribute to the good of ſociety? The great point is, to introduce novelties with

Manners of the Egyptians.

National vanity; hatred of novelty.

Novelty is often neceſſary.

with prudence; for frequently the worſt errours are improper attempts to correct errours.

A figure of death introduced at entertainments

One cuſtom, which Herodotus tells us was eſtabliſhed in Egypt, will not help us to judge favourably of their manners. At their meals, and even at their parties of pleaſure, the figure of death in wood, or, according to ſome authors, a dead body, was introduced in a coffin, and preſented to each of the company with theſe words, *Drink and rejoice, for to this complexion you will come at laſt.*

CHAP. IV.

Arts and Sciences of the Egyptians.

The firſt arts invented in Egypt.

THE Egyptians owe their reputation chiefly to their ſkill in the arts and ſciences; of which they certainly were the inventors; and to them Europe is indebted for the ſeeds of knowledge. The invention

The plough.

of the plough, an inſtrument of greater uſe to man than all the diſcoveries of the learned, ſince agriculture is the parent of ſociety, has been aſcribed to Oſiris. The firſt ploughs being made of wood, without the help of iron or any other metal, according to the obſervation of M. Goguet, tillage muſt have been firſt introduced in ſome light ſoils, ſuch as that of the country of Egypt.

Iron, a long time unknown.

We may in this place take notice of an aſtoniſhing fact concerning arts and induſtry. Iron of all the metals was laſt diſcovered, and laſt employed in mechanics; the want of it was ſupplied by tempered copper. Arms were made of braſs, and even ſilver became common; while iron, which was deſtined by nature for ſo many valuable purpoſes, lay buried and unknown. The reaſon is, that the art of purifying this metal is of all others the moſt difficult.

Reflections upon the origin of arts.

This remark invites us to make ſome reflections. Being too much habituated to the enjoyment of thoſe advantages with which we are conſtantly ſurrounded,

we

we do not attend to the efforts of induſtry which were neceſſary for their production, nor think of the immenſe multitudes who have been deprived of them. Nevertheleſs, there have been ages, and there are ſtill large and flouriſhing countries, where bread, the moſt common of all food, never was known. By what aſtoniſhing progreſs have men been capable of raiſing themſelves from a wretched ſavage ſtate, to that degree of improvement and perfection, which the greateſt part enjoy without being ſenſible of the advantage? Neceſſity made man induſtrious; he very ſoon diſcovered ſome rude methods for ſupplying himſelf with food and raiment, and guarding againſt the ſeverities of the weather, to which better methods gradually ſucceeded. Chance ſeconded induſtry, and has frequently cleared the way. Let us not imagine, like an ancient philoſopher, Poſidonius, that the art of making bread was diſcovered by reflecting that the grains of corn chewed, without any previous preparation, were ground by the teeth, their ſubſtance tempered with the ſaliva, and, being moved about in this ſtate, and collected by the tongue, deſcended into the ſtomach, and there received a ſuitable degree of baking. According to this ingenious ſyſtem, the art of grinding, kneading, and baking in the oven, muſt have been ſuddenly diſcovered by a ſubtile combination of ideas! To this ought to have been joined, the diſcovery of leaven, which is ſtill a more difficult contrivance.

They are the produce of want and induſtry.

Such ſyſtems are only the work of fancy. Probably ſome method of making flour, tempering it with water, forming it into paſte, and baking it by ſome means or other, was known before any reflections were made upon the nature and effects of the animal operations. The neceſſary arts have been produced rather by a kind of inſtinct than from reaſoning: the firſt attempts were certainly awkward, but frequent trials gradually introduced ſuperiour methods; yet, without a concourſe of fortunate incidents, perhaps even the moſt indiſpenſable neceſſaries of life had not been diſcovered.

Chance has contributed to make diſcoveries.

The uſe of fire long unknown.

Even fire was long unknown to man, or rather the art of preſerving and renewing it. The Greeks ſuppoſed it came down from heaven, as the fable of Prometheus teſtifies. In the year 1521, when Magellan landed on the Marianne Iſlands, the ſavages imagined that element was an animal which fed upon the wood; and having been burnt by touching it, they would no longer look upon it but at a diſtance, dreading leſt they ſhould be hurt by its bite, or the violence of its breathing. From this diſcovery, to the knowledge of employing metals, but more particularly iron, which muſt be melted again and again, forged and heated, and forged again, before it can be formed into any utenſil, the interval ſeems diſmaying. Iron abounds in Peru and Mexico; yet it was entirely unknown in theſe countries, though gold ſhone in their temples, and was employed to diſplay the magnificence of their princes. In one word, that which appears extremely ſimple and eaſy, and in fact is become ſo by habit, yet in its origin is a ſubject of admiration, whether we conſider it as the precious gift of nature, or the effect of wonderful induſtry.

The arts cultivated in Egypt from time immemorial.

To whatever period we look back in the Egyptian hiſtory, even to the time of the patriarchs, we find them acquainted with the polite arts and the refinements of luxury. Fine ſtuffs, embroidery, rich vaſes, and the whole apparatus of magnificence, proclaimed the talents of the Egyptians. But, in a more particular manner, they were remarkable for their architecture, though it was in a bad taſte, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in another place. What the ancients have told us of theſe works would ſeem exceſſively exaggerated, if ſome monuments of them did not remain at this day, and of which I ſhall give an idea in a few words.

The pyramids.

The famous pyramids, which a number of writers imagine to have been built before the deluge, ſtill reſiſt the injuries of time, which has deſtroyed ſo many empires. There are ſtill three of them remaining, at ſome leagues diſtance from Cairo, where Memphis formerly

ſtood.

ſtood. The largeſt of them makes a ſquare of two thouſand ſix hundred and forty feet in circuit, each ſide of the baſe being ſix hundred and ſixty feet, and the perpendicular height about five hundred, terminated by a platform of about ſixteen. Many ſtones of this enormous edifice are thirty feet long, four feet high, and three feet broad. It is alledged, that the ſubterranean works are ſtill more conſiderable. According to Herodotus, a hundred thouſand workmen were employed for thirty years without intermiſſion, either in preparing the materials, or conſtructing the work: and an inſcription informs us, that the vegetables with which they were fed coſt ſixteen hundred talents, which is about 289,379l. Engliſh money.

Superſtition and policy occaſioned the building of pyramids.

Pliny, the naturaliſt, and ſeveral other writers, inveigh againſt the fooliſh vanity, which, if we may believe them, prompted the ſovereigns of that country to ſuch ruinous undertakings. Some leſs judicious writers have imagined, that the pyramids were granaries, built by Joſeph for the ſeven years of plenty; an imagination which is perhaps one of the moſt proper for characterizing thoſe people who are wedded to ſyſtems. The pyramids were certainly tombs; by means of which, it is conjectured, the kings, who were tainted with the prejudices of their country, wiſhed to make themſelves immortal; as they would thus ſecure for their bodies, a habitation inacceſſible, and proof againſt the attacks of time. Beſides ſuperſtition, probably a deſire of preventing diſturbances was another motive for impoſing ſuch tedious taſks upon the people; or perhaps the taſte for immenſe maſſes being natural to the Egyptians, a firſt example was ſufficient to introduce the cuſtom. But, whatever was the reaſon, it is not uſeleſs to remark, that the princes, who cauſed theſe pyramids to be conſtructed, became ſo hateful, by the oppreſſive ſtated labour which they impoſed upon their ſubjects, that they did not even enjoy thoſe tombs, nor ſave their names from oblivion. We ſhould not therefore judge of the Egyptian government, by the idea ſome hiſtorians give of it,

The builders hated for their oppreſſions.

from a few good laws, which frequently were not obſerved.

Egyptian mummies

The ſuperſtitious deſire of preſerving their bodies after death, was one of the ſtrongeſt paſſions among the Egyptians; accordingly, no nation has ever equalled their ſkill in embalming, as we may ſee by their mummies, which laſt forever; there are grottos cut in rocks that are filled with them. What will not prejudice inſpire? To reſpect even the aſhes of our parents, is a natural and laudable ſentiment; but this is rather the work of ſuperſtition. Rollin ſays, upon this ſubject, that *the cuſtom of burning the dead has in it ſomething cruel and barbarous, becauſe it is haſtening to deſtroy the remains of people who were the moſt dear to us.* He can fancy nothing better conceived than the uſual practice of burying; as if it was more humane to deliver over their remains to worms and corruption. It is right to take notice of erroneous opinions, that we may learn to employ our own reaſon, without being the ſlaves of other people's judgment.

Prejudice about burying.

The Egyptians wanted taſte.

It continues ſtill a very common prejudice, to praiſe the taſte of the Egyptians. According to M. Boſſuet, *In the works of art they were fond of a boldneſs, ſubjected to fixed rules; and ſought what was new and aſtoniſhing, only in the infinite variety of nature.* But does not their love for gigantic works contradict this encomium? The head of a ſphinx is ſtill to be ſeen, which is twenty ſix feet high, and thirty five feet round. Neither deſign, proportion, nor any thing pleaſing, is to be found in thoſe aſtoniſhing piles which have reſiſted the lapſe of time, their enormous ſize making their principal merit.

Labyrinth.

We ſhall not attempt to deſcribe the Labyrinth, that famous palace, which is ſaid to have been built by twelve kings, who reigned all at the ſame time, about ſix hundred years before Jeſus Chriſt. We are told, that a ſingle encloſure contained three thouſand apartments, which all communicated with one another by numberleſs windings.

Obeliſks.

The obeliſks are better known. There were ſeveral of them a hundred and eighty feet high,

high, conſiſting of a ſingle piece. The obeliſk of Rameſes was much larger, and, if we may believe the ancients, was executed by twenty thouſand men. It is to be ſeen at Rome, to which it was tranſported by the Emperour Conſtantius, and afterwards ſet up by Pope Sixtus Quintus. As to the wonders which are related of the city of Thebes, and the hundred gates which Homer gives it, from each of which ten thouſand ſoldiers could iſſue, though Herodotus reckons only forty one thouſand in all Egypt, it is a fabulous exaggeration, diſgraceful to hiſtory.* Let us be content with beſtowing our admiration upon what deſerves it, the induſtry of the Egyptians, which could take ſuch enormous ſtones from the ſides of mountains, and by means of canals upon the Nile tranſport them to conſiderable diſtances, and erect them without the help of modern machinery.

Thebes.

The progreſs which they made in the arts, proves their ſkill in the ſciences. There is an intimate connexion, and a neceſſary correſpondence, between theſe. Wherever the arts flouriſh, a number of happy geniuſes are excited to think, and employ their time in deep reſearches; ſo that by their zeal in acquiring knowledge, which is ſpeedily communicated, new ſources of riches and improvement are opened for artiſts. When we ſee the Egyptians ſurveying their lands with preciſion, diſtributing the waters of the Nile by numberleſs canals, meaſuring the increaſe of the river with exactneſs, making and employing all ſorts of machinery, but more particularly meaſuring time, and calculating the revolutions of the ſtars, we cannot doubt of their being acquainted with the principles of mechanics, geometry, and ſeveral parts of the mathematics.

Sciences.

Arts and ſciences united.

Whether aſtronomy had its riſe among them, or among the Chaldeans, or elſewhere, is a queſtion which it is impoſſible to decide with certainty, and is not worth the trouble of examining; but theſe two nations, of all the

Neceſſity of aſtronomy.

* Homer ſays only two hundred with their horſes and chariots. Vid. Iliad, l. ix. line 383.

the ancients, chiefly cultivated that neceſſary ſcience, not only for geography, navigation and chronology, but likewiſe for agriculture, and preſerving order in civil life; it being impoſſible to regulate the operations of huſbandry, or the buſineſs of ſociety and religious exerciſes, without an exact diviſion of time, and a knowledge of the periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies. The Egyptians ſeem to have been the firſt who divided the year into twelve months; and the obſervation of the phaſes of the moon eaſily produced this diſcovery. At firſt, the year was purely lunar, of three hundred and fifty four days; which is ſo different from the true courſe of the ſun, that in leſs than ſeventeen years the order of the ſeaſons was reverſed. It became neceſſary to conſult the ſun, and obſerve his return to certain fixed ſtars, and then to meaſure the year by his courſe. As it was difficult to aſcertain it preciſely, they fixed it at three hundred and ſixty days, by giving thirty days only to each month; but at the end of thirty four years the ſeaſons had changed places: at laſt, after ſtudying the ſubject afreſh, they formed the year of three hundred and ſixty five days; and even the Egyptian aſtronomers diſcovered that the revolution of the ſun was ſome hours longer. They knew the zodiac, which they divided into twelve ſigns, of thirty degrees; a diſcovery equally ancient and difficult. They were acquainted with the motion of the planets, the cauſe of eclipſes, and calculated the eclipſes of the ſun. They imagined that the moon was a ſort of ethereal country; and probably had acquired an idea of a plurality of worlds, and the motion of the earth, ſince their diſciples the Pythagoreans have tranſmitted to us ſome notions of theſe two ſyſtems. One proof of their ſkill ſtill exiſts; which is, that the four ſides of the great pyramid correſpond exactly with the four cardinal points.

Extent of their aſtronomy.

The more we have room to be ſurpriſed that men were capable of acquiring ſuch extenſive knowledge without the help of glaſſes, pendulums, or Arabic cyphers, the leſs can we conceive the ſilly prejudices which clouded

Their ſuperſtition made them abhor the ſea.

clouded the ſcience of the Egyptians. Though they aſcribed the invention of maſts and ſails to Iſis, they deteſted the ſea, and navigation, from an idle ſuperſtition. In the ſea, they beheld the emblem of Typhon, who was the enemy of Oſiris; and from ſuch a theological reverie proceeded their diſlike to that element. The prieſts held it in ſuch horrour, that they eat neither fiſh nor ſalt: it is therefore a probable conjecture, that the Egyptian colonies did not paſs into Greece but in Phenician ſhips. According to hiſtory, Seſoſtris was the firſt who attempted to ſurmount native prejudices by fitting out a fleet; and that conqueror had maps taken of every country over which he paſſed. If it had not been for him, geography, one of the principal ſtudies of the prieſts, would have been confined to the extent of his own country. Is it not natural to imagine, that there was ſome political view in propagating ſuch ridiculous opinions? The people might change their manners by having an intercourſe with foreigners, and become leſs pliant to the yoke impoſed by their prieſts.

Geography cultivated in Egypt.

The ſuperſtitious diſpoſition of the Egyptians is to be traced even in their practice of medicine, which conſiſted at firſt in different recipes, handed down from father to ſon, and doubtleſs applied at random. They expoſed the ſick to the view of paſſengers, that they might have the benefit of their advice. Theſe recipes being collected and depoſited in the temples, a ſyſtem of medical inſtruction was formed; and theſe ſacred books contained precepts, which all were obliged to follow for the cure of diſeaſes. If the phyſicians deviated from them, and their patients died, they were puniſhed with death; which law was alone ſufficient to kill numbers of ſick. According to the teſtimony of Ariſtotle, it was forbidden to ſet the humours in motion, or to purge, before the fourth day; and magical operations completed the abſurdity; at leaſt every thing gives room to believe it.

Superſtitious in their medical knowledge.

The art of embalming the dead, in which the Egyptians were ſo perfectly ſkilled, ſhews that the ſtudy of botany

They durſt not diſſect a dead body.

botany was ſucceſsfully cultivated, but not anatomy, though the panegyriſts of the Egyptians ſay that it was. They never diſſected dead bodies, nor even opened the heads to have them embalmed, looking upon them with a religious regard, but without endeavouring to find any uſeful inſtruction from them. What is ſtill more extraordinary, whoever touched a dead body was deteſted; and they who performed the operation immediately fled, for fear of being knocked on the head. This prejudice ſtill ſubſiſts among the Chineſe, whoſe ſingular reſemblance to the Egyptians we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve. The hiſtory of mankind is almoſt always a hiſtory of the weakneſs of the human mind, notwithſtanding the ſurpriſing proofs of ſagacity and induſtry with which we are preſented.

Philoſophy. The Egyptian philoſophy is but little known. At one time it was confounded with theology; at another it was attached to morals, which are of more importance than all ſpeculative doctrines. It roſe even to the Supreme Being, whom they repreſented under the figure of a man with a ſceptre in his hand, and an egg coming out of his mouth. This egg is found to be a ſymbol of the world, among the Chaldeans, Perſians, Indians, Greeks, and Chineſe. Such an uncommon idea probably was handed down from one people to another. Reaſon alone was ſufficient to make them all acknowledge the great Architect of the Univerſe; but to repreſent his work under the figure of an egg, is what the imagination could ſcarcely invent in ſeveral different countries.

An egg a ſymbol of the Supreme Being.

Invention of writing. Before we finiſh this article, let us take notice of that admirable invention, by which words and thoughts have been painted, by which the memorable things of antiquity have been preſerved, and the immenſe heaps of truth and falſehood, with which the archives of the world are filled, communicated to all ages.

Writing was at firſt only a repreſentation of material objects; the figure of a tree was drawn to expreſs a tree, and different figures to repreſent a complicated

action

action or a mixture of things; this practice could not be of extenſive uſe. It became neceſſary to abridge the art, to make it more ſimple, and to invent ſigns which could expreſs the emotions of the ſoul, and the operations of the mind, &c. ſo that there ſhould be emblems common to different objects. Such were the hieroglyphics, and for a long time they knew no other writing. The uſe of them was preſerved by the Egyptian prieſts a long time after the invention of the alphabetical characters, on purpoſe to conceal their ſcience from the vulgar.

Hieroglyphics.

Nothing is more ſimple in appearance, nor more ingenious, than this laſt invention. A ſmall number of characters, repreſenting each vowel and each conſonant ſeparately, without almoſt any trouble, ſerves to expreſs all our thoughts, and contains diſtinctly in a very ſmall ſpace what could not be done by an infinite number of hieroglyphics, but with obſcurity and confuſion. The date of this diſcovery is ſo ancient, that it is unknown; but is is imagined that all the characters of the alphabet have ſprung from the ſame ſource, notwithſtanding their extreme difference. Our modern letters came from the Romans, the Roman from the Greeks, the Greek from the Phenicians, whoſe characters are the very ſame with thoſe of the Samaritans. All theſe languages have a common alphabet, which was probably the Egyptian. (*See the Origin of Laws, Arts and Sciences, Part* I.)

Characters of the alphabet.

By comparing the different details which we have juſt now given, we may conclude, that the Egyptians had genius and invention, but with little taſte or judgment; that after they had made a rapid progreſs in arts and ſciences, they ſtopped in the middle of their career, without being able to reach the object at which they aimed; they have been the inſtructors of almoſt all nations, but the ſlaves of their own cuſtoms; they had excellent laws, intermixed with enormous grievances; their religion degenerated into abſurd ſuperſtition, their love of peace into cowardice, their patriotiſm into fooliſh pride, and their falſe ideas of grandeur produced nothing but the gigantic; in fine, to judge of them with impaatiality,

The Egyptians have been too much admired.

partiality, we ſhould abate much of the encomiums which have been laviſhed upon them by the Greeks, their imitators. But can we ſay, with a modern author, "*That there were but two things tolerable in that nation: "the firſt was, that they who worſhipped an ox did not "compel thoſe that worſhipped an ape to change their reli- "gion: the ſecond, that they always hatched chickens in "ovens?*" A ſtroke of humour does not deface the monuments of hiſtory. However, the difference between forcing a man to change his religion, and deteſting him becauſe of his following a different form of worſhip, or tearing him in pieces becauſe he has accidentally killed a cat or a dog, &c. is too ſlight to do honour to the Egyptians.

Diction. Philoſo. article Apis.

THE

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE CHINESE.

THE ſingular reſemblance between the Chineſe and Egyptians preſents us with a very curious ſubject of inquiry, which I ſhall content myſelf with touching ſlightly. The antiquities of China, like the Egyptian, are immerſed in a chaos of fables; in which may be ſeen a ſucceſſion of periods and imaginary dynaſties, comprehending millions of years. Before the time of Fo-hi, the founder of the empire, men are deſcribed as living like the beaſts of the field; wandering up and down the foreſts, without thinking of any thing but ſleep and food; devouring even the hair and feathers of animals, whoſe blood they drunk; ignorant of marriage, and all kinds of law or decency. Nevertheleſs, the origin of the arts is ſaid to be earlier than the times of which they have any certain knowledge.

Surpriſing antiquity claimed by the Chineſe.

The learned men of China do not at preſent adopt a fabulous chronology. They confeſs, that two hundred and thirteen years before Jeſus Chriſt, Chi-hoam-ti, one of their emperours, cauſed all their books of hiſtory to be deſtroyed, becauſe the literati drew precedents from them againſt his haughtineſs and his buildings. A complete body of hiſtory appeared, about one hundred and fifty years after this period; the author of which does not pretend that he could find authority for more than eight hundred years back: however, the aſtronomical obſervations, rejected by ſome, and maintained by others, go to a much earlier period; and the Chineſe reckon the firſt of them a hundred and fifty years before the Emperour Yao, who reigned, according to M. Freret,

How much their ancient hiſtory is to be doubted.

Their firſt aſtronomical obſervation.

Freret, about two thouſand one hundred and forty five years before the Chriſtian era.* Without entering into theſe diſcuſſions, or pronouncing upon the authenticity of the Chineſe annals (which are ſo reſpectable in the eyes of the authors of the Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory, that they confound Noah with Fo-hi, the firſt emperour of China) let us diſplay another more intereſting ſyſtem, though it is nevertheleſs ſtill a ſyſtem.

Syſtem of M. de Guignes, who makes the Chineſe an Egyptian colony.

M. de Guignes, of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, maintains, that an Egyptian colony eſtabliſhed itſelf in China, about one thouſand one hundred and twenty two years before Jeſus Chriſt; that the emigrants carried the hiſtory of Egypt along with them, and that it has been grafted into the true hiſtory of China; that the two firſt dynaſties of the Chineſe annals are preciſely the ſame with thoſe of the kings of Thebes in Upper Egypt. He obſerves, that the founder of the third is repreſented as a conqueror, who divided the provinces, and gave ſovereignties to his friends, and the officers of his army. He adds, that the Chineſe allow there are people to the weſtward of them, and beyond the Caſpian ſea, of the ſame origin with themſelves; and laſtly, he inſiſts upon the conformity of the Chineſe characters with the Egyptian and Phenician letters, pretending that they are a kind of cyphers formed from theſe letters.

Reſemblance of the Chineſe with the Egyptians.

Though a number of the learned have particularly attacked the laſt article of his ſyſtem, it muſt be allowed, that, in a number of things, theſe two nations have a great reſemblance. The writing of the Chineſe is nearly of the ſame nature with the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics; and they ſtill more ſtrongly reſembled the Egyptians in their manners and cuſtoms. The ſame reſpect for their kings, their fathers and mothers; the ſame prejudice in favour of national merit, and againſt foreigners; the ſame attention to agriculture; the

* According to the Hebrew chronology, this obſervation muſt be near about the time of the deluge, which is placed 2348 years before our era; but according to the Samaritan, it is about 700 years later.

the ſame progreſs in arts and ſciences, without either taſte, or making any advance towards perfection; the ſame love for peace and tranquillity; the ſame courteſy, which was full of indiſpenſable ceremony; the ſame ſuperſtitious attachment to ancient cuſtoms; and, of courſe, the ſame fetters to genius. The Chineſe, like the Egyptians, admire nothing but what they do themſelves, and continue the ſame methods which have been practiſed from time immemorial.

Character of the Chineſe, by the author of Anſon's voyage.

In Anſon's voyage, we may ſee ſome particulars which mark their character ſufficiently. When that admiral approached the coaſts of China, an incredible number of fiſhing boats hovered round his ſhip, which was ſuperiour to the whole naval power of their empire, yet not one creature ſeemed to pay the leaſt attention to an object which certainly ought to have amazed them. But this is not the only proof of Chineſe indifference, which is mentioned by that author. "It may perhaps "be doubted," ſays he, "whether this caſt of temper "be the effect of nature or education; but, in either "caſe, it is an inconteſtible ſymptom of a mean and "contemptible diſpoſition, and is alone a ſufficient con-"futation of the extravagant praiſes which many pre-"judiced writers have beſtowed on the ingenuity and "capacity of this nation." He afterwards repreſents the Chineſe as a knaviſh, hypocritical, cheating, cowardly people, whoſe morals and government are much more deſerving of cenſure than praiſe. Notwithſtanding the ſplendid encomiums which have been laviſhed upon the Chineſe by many of the miſſionaries, there are a number of ſenſible writers at preſent of the ſame opinion with the author of that voyage.

Anſon's voyage, l. 33. c. 6.

Ib. c. 10.

There are excellent regulations in China, but badly obſerved.

Without aſcribing their reſemblance with the Egyptians to a doubtful cauſe, to the eſtabliſhment of an Egyptian colony in the centre of Aſia, there is ſtill an important obſervation to be made. There are excellent principles of true wiſdom to be found in the Chineſe government, as well as in that of ancient Egypt; and if the emperour and the mandarins did their duty, China might

might ſerve as a model to the whole world; but, in the firſt place, the opinions of Foe, which are maintained by the bonzes, a ſort of monks of that country, have corrupted the ſound morals and pure religion of Confucius by fooliſh ſuperſtitions. In the ſecond place, the mandarins, theſe governours and celebrated magiſtrates, frequently debaſed by a ſhameful attachment to their own intereſt, make a diſgraceful traffic of juſtice and the good of the public. Every thing depends upon the emperour, and he is the ſole interpreter of the law. According to Monteſquieu, he is deſpotic; and it is rather owing to the force of cuſtom, than to the excellence of the laws, that he is not a tyrant.

Cauſes of the ſtability of the Chineſe government.

If the Chineſe empire is the richeſt in the world, and has exiſted for thouſands of years, always been governed by the ſame principles, though conquered twice by the Tartars, this wonderful ſtability muſt be owing to the following cauſes: the opulence of the emperour, whoſe revenue is ſaid to amount to about forty four million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of our money, leaves him without a motive for changing the conſtitution, or any deſire of oppreſſing the people: the learned, who are the only perſons that hold offices, are ſubjected to a trifling ſtudy, ſince the life of man is not ſufficient to acquire a knowledge of the Chineſe characters, which are about fourſcore thouſand; ſo that theſe people cannot be ſuppoſed to have extenſive views, nor to be capable of forming any great deſigns, commonly either employing themſelves in paying court, like ſlaves, or perhaps making their fortunes by knavery: laſtly, the people's being all engaged in cultivating the land, or ſome petty traffic, or in attending to rites and ceremonies, being attached to their ancient cuſtoms from taſte, and to their ancient government from habit and principle, they place their whole happineſs in obedience, unwilling to quit their ſtation, provided that their cuſtoms and manners, which confirm the conſtitution of their country, be preſerved to them. The Chineſe are a very ſingular object for the attention of the reſt of the world,

world, both on account of the extraordinary duration of their empire, and the unchangeable attachment to their maxims. But both their example and that of the Egyptians ſerve to prove, that a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to national cuſtoms helps to perpetuate all ſorts of errours in a nation, and to deprive it of numberleſs advantages. *(Vide Mably, Doutes ſur l' ordre naturel, &c.)*

The philoſopher Confucius.

That we may not let ſlip an opportunity of making a great man known, who has been honoured in his own country for more than two thouſand years, and whoſe poſterity are the only hereditary nobility, we ſhall add a few words concerning Confucius, the moſt reſpectable philoſopher that has exiſted in the world, ſince he has been the author of the greateſt good. He was born of an illuſtrious family, about five hundred and fifty years before Jeſus Chriſt. From the age of fifteen, he preferred learning, and the ſtudy of philoſophy, to all the pleaſures of youth. His ſingular merit raiſed him to poſts of honour; and having become mandarin and miniſter of ſtate, the vices of a voluptuous court were expoſed to his view; but finding they could not be amended by his counſels, he withdrew from his employments, to teach morality to thoſe who were worthy of his attention. It is ſaid, that in a ſhort time he had not leſs than three thouſand diſciples, and that many of them acquired the greateſt reputation for wiſdom. His philoſophy conſiſted more in practice than ſpeculation, and his followers were therefore rather wiſe men than great orators. Some of his maxims may ſerve to give an idea of him, and I have therefore extracted them from the Encyclopedie, article *China*, without being able to prove their authenticity.

Maxims of Confucius.

I. The philoſopher is he who, having a profound knowledge of books and things, examines and yields to reaſon, walking with a ſteady pace in the ways of truth and juſtice.

II. There is a certain celeſtial reaſon or rectitude inherent in all men; and there is a worldly ſupplement to that gift when it is loſt. The celeſtial reaſon is the

portion

portion of the ſaint; the ſupplement, that of the ſage.

III. The wiſe man is his own ſevereſt cenſurer; he is his own judge, his own witneſs and accuſer.

IV. Charity is that rational and conſtant affection, which makes us ſacrifice ourſelves to the human race, as if we were united with it ſo as to form one individual, partaking equally in its adverſity and proſperity.

If the Chineſe had been known to the Greeks, they muſt have held a conſiderable rank in ancient hiſtory, where however we do not find them mentioned. I refer to the modern, for a particular account of that celebrated nation.

THE

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.

CHAP. I.

Of the Antiquities of theſe Nations.

THE darkneſs in which the hiſtory of Egypt is enveloped, is nothing in compariſon with that of the firſt nations of Aſia, in which ſcarce one ray of truth is to be diſcovered. If we were to give credit to numbers of hiſtorians, Nineveh and Babylon, though but at a little diſtance from one another, were two immenſe cities, and the capitals of two great empires; but if we look back to the ſource, examine the evidence, and compare the different criticiſms without prejudice or prepoſſeſſion, it will appear evident that the Aſſyrians and Babylonians were very ſoon blended together into one people, united into one empire, and that the ſame ſtate was frequently mentioned by both names.

The Aſſyrians & Babylonians blended together.

For ſpreading and perpetuating fables, nothing more has ever been requiſite, than that they ſhould be publiſhed by an author of reputation, and, which is always the caſe, be repeated after him by ſucceeding writers. Cteſias of Cnidus, phyſician to the younger Cyrus, is the author of all the falſehoods which have been ſo often tranſcribed concerning the Aſſyrian empire. Diodorus Siculus, who was cotemporary with Cæſar, has copied the tales of Cteſias, and many later hiſtorians

Cteſias the author of the fables concerning Aſſyria.

Copied by Diodorus.

have followed Diodorus; ſo that this corrupted ſource has infected almoſt all the channels through which that hiſtory has flowed. What credit can be given to the authority of Cyrus's phyſician? Ariſtotle did not think him worthy of attention; and all the world allow that his hiſtory of India, which he boldly narrates, as having been an eye witneſs, is filled with the groſſeſt falſehoods. Having therefore been convicted of endeavouring to impoſe in one caſe, he ſhould be the leſs credited in others, and the rather as even his hiſtory of Aſſyria has in it ſome ſtriking marks of abſurdity. Let us lay aſide every prejudice for a moment to hearken to Cteſias and Diodorus, and let us not be afraid to judge for ourſelves.

Unworthy of attention.

Story of Ninus, as told by Cteſias & Diodorus.

Ninus, being poſſeſſed with a rage of conqueſt, ſubdued an infinite number of nations all the way from Egypt to India; but ſuſpended his warlike enterpriſes to found the city of Nineveh, which Diodorus places upon the banks of the Euphrates, and not the Tigris; an errour perhaps of the tranſcriber, yet not unworthy our notice. Nineveh was quickly built, with walls a hundred feet high, having fifteen hundred towers, two hundred feet in height, to ſerve equally for its ornament and defence; the circumference of the whole city was four hundred and eighty ſtadia (furlongs) eſtimated at twenty five or thirty leagues; even adopting the reduction of the length of the ſtadium propoſed by M. de l'Iſle, Nineveh will ſtill be ſeven times larger than Paris.

Of Semiramis and Babylon.

This work being completed, Ninus reſumed his arms at the head of a million of fighting men; and Semiramis, who was the wife of one of his officers, diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her heroic exploits. The king married her, and left her his crown; and this ambitious princeſs, being deſirous in her turn to render her name immortal, in a very few years built the city of Babylon, which much exceeded Nineveh, its walls being of ſufficient thickneſs to allow ſix chariots to go abreaſt. The quays, the bridge over the Euphrates, the hanging gardens, the

prodigies

prodigies of ſculpture and artichecture, the temple of Belus, which had in it a golden ſtatue forty feet high, were all works of Semiramis. She likewiſe built other cities; ſet out to conquer kingdoms; marched againſt the king of the Indies, with an army of three million of infantry, five hundred thouſand horſe, a hundred thouſand chariots, &c. and, to ſupply the want of elephants, ſhe contrived the following excellent ſtratagem: ſhe ordered three hundred thouſand black oxen to be killed, and their hides to be formed into the ſhape of elephants, which, being placed upon camels, were drawn up in battle array; but the ſtratagem did not ſucceed, for the heroine was defeated, wounded, and put to flight; and ſome time after died in her own country.

Her ſon Nynias was but the ſhadow of a king. From the time of that prince, to the voluptuous reign of Sardanapalus, which is a ſpace of more than eight hundred years, we do not find a ſingle incident worth being mentioned. That prince is ſaid to have deſtroyed himſelf by fire, with his women and treaſures, when beſieged by Arbaces, governour of the Medes; and thus ended the Aſſyrian monarchy, to which Cteſias and Diodorus give a duration of fourteen centuries, while Herodotus tells us that it laſted only five hundred and twenty years. Such a hiſtory is, like the fairy tales, unworthy of reflection.

Vid. the hiſtory of Aſſyria after Nynias.

According to the holy ſcripture, the empire of Babylon was founded by Nimrod, great grandſon of Noah; but Beroſus, a Chaldean prieſt, who, with Manetho, wrote in the time of Alexander, gives a moſt prodigious and incredible duration to this empire, boaſting that he had found memoirs which traced them back a hundred and fifty thouſand years; but inſtead of giving us facts, he fills his annals with fictitious names of princes, and, to give ſome colour to the impoſition, accuſes Nabonaſſar of having ſuppreſſed all the hiſtories of the kingdom, that he might be thought the firſt ſovereign of Babylon.

Antiquity of Babylon according to Beroſus.

The era of Nabonaſſar is fixed ſeven hundred and forty ſeven years before Jeſus Chriſt, at which time the

Era of Nabonaſſar, 747 years before J. C.

Aſtronomical obſervations.

Chaldean aſtronomical obſervations began, which have been handed down to us by Ptolemy. Thoſe which it is alledged were ſent to Ariſtotle by Caliſthenes, which comprehended a ſpace of one thouſand nine hundred and ſeven years, are exceedingly doubtful, and are not mentioned by the ancient aſtronomers. Simplicius, a philoſopher of the ſixth century, takes notice of them only upon the authority of Porphyrius. It is ſurpriſing to find Rollin admitting ſuch obſervations, in whoſe chronology they would reach almoſt to the deluge.

The Aſſyrian empire, according to the Engliſh, of no great antiquity.

The authors of the Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory alledge, that the true hiſtory of Aſſyria is only to be had in the Bible; and they begin with Pul, who founded that kingdom ſeven hundred and ſeventy one years before Jeſus Chriſt. His ſucceſſors, particularly Salmanazar and Senacharib, were the ſcourges of Judea. The ſame authors conjecture, that Nabonaſſar is the Ninus of Cteſias, and Semiramis, if there was a queen of that name, was his wife; and that the great works of Babylon ſhould be aſcribed to Nebuchadnezzar, who was celebrated by the taking of Jeruſalem, and by the wonders which are related of him in ſcripture. But can we think that what has been handed down to us of the antiquity of this empire muſt be falſe, eſpecially when the holy ſcripture places the foundation of Nineveh, as well as Babylon, a little after the deluge?

Attempting to clear up antiquities, and reconcile hiſtorians, a loſs of time.

Whatever the learned have been able to imagine, either with a deſire to diſentangle truth from ancient fables, or to reconcile profane hiſtory with the holy ſcripture, can only ſerve to oppreſs the memory with a load of uſeleſs learning. The empires of the Aſſyrians ar[illegible] Babylonians almoſt diſappear in profane hiſtory, after the time of Sardanapalus, which is exactly the period when Nineveh and Babylon appear with luſtre in the Jewiſh hiſtory. This ſingle difficulty has produced numberleſs volumes, ſyſtems, and conjectures, without the ſubject being either cleared up or exhauſted. Let us dedicate our time to more uſeful reſearches. What

Providence

Providence has thought fit to wrap up in impenetrable darkneſs, can be of no conſequence to mankind.

CHAP. II.

Of the Religion, Sciences and Manners of the Babylonians.

Aſtronomy very ancient among the Chaldeans.

THE country of Meſopotamia, which is ſituated between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, in one of the fineſt climates in the world, contends with Egypt for the reputation of having given birth to the arts and ſciences. The vaſt plains of Babylon, under a clear and delightful ſky, ſurrounded with all the riches of nature, were particularly favourable for making aſtronomical obſervations. Accordingly the Babylonians, or rather their prieſts the Chaldeans, from whom the country derived its name, have generally been ſuppoſed the earlieſt aſtronomers. Notwithſtanding the claims of the Egyptians, who arrogate to themſelves the ſuperiority in every thing, and which the Greeks allowed them upon too ſlender authority, from their having been bred in the Egyptian ſchools, Meſopotamia not being overflowed like Egypt, it is natural to imagine that it was firſt peopled; and there is ſome reaſon for ſuppoſing, that ſcientific knowledge had its ſource in that, rather than in the other country.

Worſhip of the ſtars eſtabliſhed in that country.

Unfortunately the propenſity of the human mind to ſuperſtition is ſo great, that their firſt ſteps in the road to ſcience have almoſt always led to this deſtructive errour. The Chaldeans very ſoon began to worſhip the ſtars as gods, and undoubtedly the common people believed them to be ſuch, while thoſe who were better inſtructed ſuppoſed them to be governed by ſome inferiour divinities. They called the ſun Belus,* and the moon Nabo, and they were their chief deities.

Judicial aſtrology.

The opinion that the ſtars have a neceſſary influence upon the fate and conduct of men, naturally took its riſe

* *Belus*, or *Baal*, ſignifies Lord.

riſe from this worſhip; one conſequence of this was judicial aſtrology, which abſurd ſcience the prieſts ſupported with the more attention, as it ſecured their influence over the minds of the people, their aſtronomical obſervations being dedicated almoſt ſolely to that purpoſe. Thus Kepler very ſenſibly repreſents judicial aſtrology, as the fooliſh daughter of a wiſe mother, whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary for her ſupport. A dangerous curioſity, and a ſtupid credulity, eſtabliſhed aſtrology. The people, anxious to look into futurity, either with a deſign to deliver themſelves from impending evils, or to obtain ſome wiſhed for good, flocked to the prieſts whoſe magical operations promiſed ſo many miracles.

Progreſs of the Chaldeans in aſtronomy.

Aſtronomy muſt be defective, when cultivated only for ſuch a purpoſe. According to Diodorus, the Chaldeans were not ſufficiently expert to be able to foretel the eclipſes of the ſun; but they knew the motion of the planets from weſt to eaſt; they divided each ſign of the zodiac into thirty degrees, and every degree into thirty minutes; they made the year conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty five days, to which they added the ſurplus five hours and ſome minutes; and looked upon comets as planets very excentric from the earth. It is ſaid, they even calculated, that if a man was to follow the ſun, walking at a good pace, round the globe, he would arrive at the ſame time with him at the equinoctial point. It is true, that if a man was to walk a league an hour, he would go eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty leagues in three hundred and ſixty five days; but the circumference of the globe is about nine thouſand leagues.* The invention of ſun dials is likewiſe aſcribed to them, which are ſaid to have been diſcovered in the time of Achaz, five years before Nabonaſſar. If authors have repreſented the Chaldean doctrines differently, it is owing to their ſchools diſagreeing among themſelves, and the opinion of an individual ſometimes being miſtaken for their general doctrine. Their obſervatory

The circumference of the earth.

Sun dials.

Obſervatory.

* Achilles Tatius, who relates this fact, is of too modern a date to be eſteemed ſufficient authority.

ſervatory was a high tower in the middle of the temple of Belus. (*See the Origin of Laws, &c.* Part III.)

Not content with obſerving the ſtars and the works of nature, they endeavoured to examine the origin of all things, which could only be made known by a certain revelation. Their coſmogony was a ſeries of various extravagances. They ſuppoſed, that after Belus had formed the world and the animals, he cauſed his head to be cut off; and that the other gods, having tempered ſome clay with the blood which flowed from the wound, formed men, who were endowed with underſtanding, and a portion of the Deity. All the Chaldean fables, according to Beroſus, were only a myſterious allegory, to explain the manner in which the chaos was unravelled and arranged; and the reſult was, that the Supreme God employed another god to form the world; which is a doctrine almoſt univerſally received in the Eaſt.

Coſmogony of the Chaldeans.

Their fables were allegorical

But the Chaldeans deſerve chiefly to be cenſured for the blind ſubmiſſion they required from their diſciples, whom they obliged to follow their opinions. In this, Diodorus ranks them above the Greeks, whom the liberty of thinking rendered wavering and indeciſive. But whether is it better to crouch under the tyranny of prejudice, or to employ our reaſon in ſearch of truth, though at the riſk of deceiving ourſelves as our predeceſſors have done? If it had not been for a prudent boldneſs, the human mind muſt have continued to this day the ſport of all the chimeras of the Ancients. Chancellor Bacon does not diſapprove of the maxim, which ſays, *That the diſciples ſhould believe*; but he deſires to add, *That after being taught, they ſhould employ their reaſon.**

They required a blind ſubmiſſion from their diſciples.

Let us obſerve, that Beroſus ſpeaks of a great deluge which happened in the reign of the tenth king of Chaldea, wherein he mentions ſome circumſtances ſtrongly reſembling thoſe in the ſcripture. That king, by order of Saturn, built a veſſel, into which he ſhut himſelf up with

The deluge mentioned by Beroſus.

* *Oportet diſcentem credere.——Oportet jam edoctum judicio ſuo uti.* De Augment. Scient.

with all his family, the animals, and neceſſary proviſions. After the deluge, he let fly birds, that returned till they found the earth dry and habitable. Theſe are particular touches of a tradition, which has been ſpread over an immenſe extent.

Arts, luxury and debauchery united.

The arts flouriſhed from time immemorial in Aſſyria and Babylon; and luxury, effeminacy and debauchery equally prevailed there, either from the culture of the arts and ſciences immediately following a corruption of manners, or that they contribute indirectly to that corruption, from the abuſe made of them by vicious men.

A ſhameful law for proſtitution.

If we may credit Herodotus and Strabo, this culture was diſgraced by an infamous cuſtom; for they tell us, that every woman was obliged by the law to proſtitute herſelf once to a ſtranger, in the temple of Mylitta or Venus; but M. Goguet repreſents this infamous practice, with which the Babylonians have been ſo much reproached, and which M. de Voltaire rejects as abſurd and impoſſible, as a proof of their blind ſubmiſſion to errours, rather than of their licentiouſneſs. He follows the Ancients in imagining, that this cuſtom was eſtabliſhed by a ſuperſtitious prejudice, with a view of preſerving the virtue of their women; for there is no degree of extravagance which ſuperſtition does not produce and render ſacred. They believed that Venus was a malignant deity, and an enemy to the honour of the ſex; and therefore deſired to pacify her by this ſacrifice. The ſtranger to whom the woman gave herſelf up from this religious motive, was obliged to deliver to her a piece of money, with theſe words, *I implore the Goddeſs Mylitta in your favour.* Herodotus aſſures us, that after they had fulfilled the intentions of the law, the Babylonian women were models of conjugal fidelity. Juſtin ſays the ſame thing of the women of Cyprus, and Elian of the women of Lydia, where the ſame law prevailed; and that the men were ſolicitous to marry them. The manners of the Babylonians were not greatly corrupted till after the conqueſt of Cyrus; and poverty was the principal cauſe of their debauchery.

Motive of this law.

Herodotus lib. 36.

The

The Babylonian women, contrary to the cuſtoms of the reſt of the Aſiatics, lived familiarly among the men, and eat in company with ſtrangers, which was probably the reaſon that their manners were more gentle. The dreadful picture which is drawn of them in ſcripture ſeems to diſagree with the evidence of the profane writers, but the ſevere treatment the Jews met with in Babylon occaſioned the keenneſs of their complaints. According to Beroſus, the Babylonians celebrated an annual feſtival, which laſted five days, during which time the ſlaves took the place of their maſters, with the privilege of commanding and being ſerved by them. Manners of the Babylonians.

To promote population, which is an object of the greateſt political importance, the moſt beautiful of their young women were ſold to the higheſt bidder; and a ſum of money was then given to whoever would take thoſe that were ill favoured, ſo that they fell to the ſhare of the perſon that was willing to accept of them upon the loweſt terms. Undoubtedly, this is only to be underſtood of the common people; but, however, it was a means for all the girls being provided. It is not an eaſy matter to prognoſticate favourably of marriages which are made at random, or when the parties are unknown to one another; but what ſhall we ſay of ours, when money alone ſerves to determine us, and merit without fortune goes for nothing? Among the Babylonians, if their hearts could not be united, they were parted upon the money being reſtored. They did not imagine, that they could form indiſſoluble ties raſhly. A tribunal was eſtabliſhed for marrying their girls, and puniſhing adultery; which proves that they held ſacred the conjugal union, and that their manners could not be corrupted but by a breach of the laws. A ſingular cuſtom for marrying the girls. Divorce.

The hiſtory of Perſia will bring us back to Babylon. It is not neceſſary to mention the Syrians; for if it were not for ſome paſſages in ſcripture, we ſhould not have known that any ancient kings of Syria ever exiſted, or that there were kings of Damaſcus, which was the capital of that country. Profane hiſtory confounds it with Syria.

Aſſyria,

Assyria, till the dismembering of Alexander's empire; and we are only acquainted with some superstitions which prevailed there, from a work written by Lucian, who says, that the priests of the goddess of Syria voluntarily made themselves eunuchs, and were universally known by the name of *Galli*. The learned suppose this goddess to be the celestial Venus of Babylon; a conjecture of no consequence.

Syrian superstitions

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PHENICIANS.

WHEN we prefer the arts of peace to the bloody enterpriſes of heroes, one of the nobleſt ſpectacles which hiſtory can preſent to our view is, the induſtry of a people ſurmounting the obſtacles which have been oppoſed to them by nature, and ſupplying themſelves, by means of their genius and reſolution, with whatever has been withheld from them by an unkind climate; conquering the moſt terrible of all the elements, and paving a way to themſelves over the raging billows, to render diſtant nations in ſome degree tributary; not only refraining from violence, but ſupplying them with conveniences till then unknown. Such were the Phenicians, called in the ſcripture Canaanites, that is to ſay merchants, a people who were celebrated for their antiquity, their commerce and maritime enterpriſes, whom nevertheleſs the generality of hiſtorians have contented themſelves with having barely named. An idea of commercial nations.

Society could not ſubſiſt without commerce, the neceſſities of one, being thereby ſupplied from the ſuperfluities of another. With thoſe things which are in too great quantity, we purchaſe what we want; and if we poſſeſs nothing, we ſell our labour, and live upon what it can produce. In the early ages of the world, when the deſires, like the neceſſities of men, were confined within very narrow bounds, their commerce was limited to a ſimple barter of commodities. The ſhepherd gave the labourer ſome of his cattle, who, in return, gave the ſhepherd part of his harveſt; and in like manner other exchanges were made. As commerce advanced, commodities of ſmall bulk, and more particularly metals, as being Neceſſity of commerce. Its progreſs.

being the moſt durable, and eaſily tranſported, were employed to repreſent merchandiſe, and to ſerve as a common price. They became the ſymbols of the real property which the earth produced, or induſtry could furniſh, and we find them employed for that purpoſe from the time of Abraham. But a more wonderful art, the art of navigation, was to extend and give new life to commerce.

Navigation long known to the Phenicians.

The Phenicians were navigators from time immemorial. Living in a barren country upon the coaſt of the Mediterranean, they found the neceſſity of ſeeking reſources elſewhere. They perceived that the ſea which ſeparates countries might likewiſe ſerve to unite them, and, after different attempts, expoſed their lives, in a piece of brittle wood, to the mercy of winds and waves, in order to procure, in other climates, what nature had denied their own. The foreſts of mount Lebanon, and the convenience of their harbours, were valuable advantages, which they knew how to improve. It is believed that their commerce was become extenſive a few ages after the deluge; which is the more aſtoniſhing, as a knowledge of navigation implies a progreſs being made in aſtronomy, and a number of difficult arts. They could have no other guide but the ſtars, and at firſt attended chiefly to the Great Bear, and afterwards to a ſtar in the Little Bear, which is much nearer the pole. Who could have imagined, that, in a future period, ſhips would be guided upon the immenſe ocean by means of a ſmall needle? It was a prodigy at that time, to ſee people tranſported to different climates and new ſkies.

Guided by the ſtars.

Great extent of their commerce.

While the Egyptians beheld the ſea with a ſuperſtitious horrour, the Phenicians had the courage to paſs over it, and thence reaped the greateſt advantages. They planted numerous colonies in the iſles of Cyprus and Rhodes, Greece, Sicily, and Sardinia; they viſited the ſouth coaſts of Spain, paſſed the Strait, and penetrated into the ocean. Cadiz became their magazine; Betica, and the reſt of Spain, ſupplied them with immenſe wealth,

wealth. They exported from thence honey, wax, pitch, iron, lead, copper, tin, &c. Their veſſels were ſo overloaded with ſilver, that they were even obliged to hang weights of it to their anchors, inſtead of lead. According to Strabo, they had ſome ſettlements on the weſtern coaſts of Africa, ſoon after the Trojan war. The ſcripture makes mention of frequent voyages being made by Solomon's fleets, under the conduct of the Phenicians, to the land of Ophir and Tarſhiſh, which is thought to be the kingdom of Sofala in Ethiopia, from whence they returned at the end of three years, loaded with gold, ſilver, ivory, precious ſtones, and other kinds of merchandiſe. Being factors for all the known world, they carefully concealed the ſecret of their navigation, becauſe they were afraid of being rivalled: a jealouſy natural to merchants, but contrary to the common good of mankind.

Their voyage round Africa in the time of Nechos

Nothing is more remarkable than the enterpriſe which they executed to ſatisfy the curioſity of Nechos, king of Egypt, about ſix hundred and ten years before Jeſus Chriſt. That prince made them ſail from the Red Sea, with orders to ſteer their courſe along the weſtern coaſt of Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by Hercules's Pillars, or the Straits of Cadiz. In three years they actually arrived at the mouth of the Nile.

Form of their veſſels.

The form of their trading veſſels was almoſt round, becauſe the neceſſity of keeping near the ſhore obliged them to make up in breadth for their want of depth; but for their warlike expeditions they had veſſels of a different conſtruction, which were both long and ſharp. I do not know which deſerves the greateſt admiration, the immenſe ſuperiority of our marine over that of this ancient nation, or the greatneſs of their maritime undertakings, which were executed with ſuch ſlender means, and in defiance of ſuch obſtructions.

Phenician dying.

The value of the Phenician ſtuffs, and their ſkill in dying, is well known. Their purple, we may ſay, was a gift of fortune; for the diſcovery was owing to a ſhepherd's dog, who, being compelled by hunger, devoured

a ſhell fiſh, the blood iſſuing from which dyed his muzzle of ſuch a colour, that the people, being ſtruck with its beauty, applied it to their manufactures, and it has ſince that time been reſerved for the garb of princes. A ſimilar origin has produced many important diſcoveries; and as nature is inexhauſtible, obſervation will unqueſtionably produce many more.

Their ſciences.

What has been already ſaid upon the ſcience of the Egyptians, may in part be applied to the Phenicians. A people who underſtood commerce and navigation, could not fail to be acquainted with geometry, mechanics, arithmetic, geography, &c. They acquired them by degrees, and certainly a very inaccurate practice ſupplied the want of theory: to them the invention of the alphabet has been commonly aſcribed, and by dint of genius they ſeem to have outſtripped the Egyptians, who, being wedded to old cuſtoms and hereditary prejudices, ſtopped at the very point where every thing ſeemed to invite them to perfection, and to the making of freſh diſcoveries; while the others were inceſſantly making ſome new attempts to accompliſh their purpoſe, and every ſtep they took was marked with a degree of ſucceſs.

Phenicians more induſtrious than the Egyptians.

Perhaps the thirſt of gain contributed as much to their ſucceſs, as their natural diſpoſition. Such a paſſion is hurtful to morals; it introduces diſhoneſty, with which the Phenicians have been much reproached, and the riches which it heaps up, frequently produce a depravity of manners: but indolence and poverty are attended with as bad conſequences. If we ſee vices among an induſtrious people, who are enriched by commerce; humanity is comforted by a view of the wonderful effects of application, the reſources and conveniences which it procures, and the happineſs which it diffuſes over even thoſe conditions which are apparently the moſt wretched and unhappy.

The effects of a paſſion for wealth.

Idleneſs is worſe.

Sidon and Tyre.

Sidon, which was the capital of Phenicia, held the empire of the ſea for a conſiderable time, to which the famous city of Tyre ſucceeded. We ſhall have occaſion to mention Carthage in another place, which was found-

Foundation of Carthage.

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ed by a colony of Tyrians, about eight hundred and ninety years before Jeſus Chriſt, and owed its exiſtence to the cruelty and avarice of a monarch. Pygmalion, king of Tyre, having put to death the huſband of his ſiſter Eliſſa or Dido, that he might ſeize upon his immenſe riches, this courageous princeſs fled away with all her huſband's treaſure, and on the coaſt of Africa laid the foundation of that famous city, which we ſhall ſee made even Rome tremble. The Carthaginians, like the Phenicians, ſucceeded by carrying on an advantageous commerce; but their ruin may ſerve as a leſſon to commercial ſtates, who, by giving themſelves up to a deſire of making conqueſts, certainly expoſe themſelves to deſtruction.

Phenician ſuperſtitions.

Phenicia was not entirely freed from ſuperſtitions by their activity in buſineſs, but they ſeem to have been leſs addicted to them than the Egyptians. The worſhip of Venus at Biblos was intermixed with debauchery, and human ſacrifices made a part of their religious ceremonies. They adopted ſome abſurd traditions about Adonis, who was likewiſe named Oſirs or Thammuz. At the time the river Adonis appeared to be tinged with blood, which is a very natural phenomenon, where the current ſometimes ſweeps along with it a reddiſh coloured earth, the women bitterly lamented the death of the Adonis of Venus, manifeſting their ſorrow by mournful ſacrifices, and even by ſcourgings. The next day, ſuppoſing him to be come again to life, and aſcended to the heavens, they ſhaved their heads in the ſame manner as the Egyptians did upon the death of their god Apis; but they who wiſhed to preſerve their hair, were obliged to proſtitute themſelves, and the profits of the crime were applied to the uſe of the temple.

The worſhip of Adonis.

Examples of ſuperſtition ought to attach us to the true religion.

In proportion as the true religion exalts a man above himſelf, ſo much does ſuperſtition on the contrary debaſe him below the brute; a maxim inculcated by a thouſand examples, and from whence two advantages ſhould naturally follow: the one, to attach us to that perfect worſhip taught us by chriſtianity; the other, to guard

guard us from thoſe illuſions and follies which are an inſult to the Deity, and debaſe human nature.

Works of Sanchoniathon, the moſt ancient writer next to Moſes.

Sanchoniathon of Berytus in Phenicia, the moſt ancient writer next to Moſes, ſome of whoſe works are ſtill extant, wrote the antiquities of his own country, according to the beſt critics, about the time of Joſhua, and traces them back to the beginning of the world. Some ſtriking rays of light may be ſeen in his fabulous coſmogony, as in all the others which are the produce of human fancy. He mentions a dark chaos, and a ſpirit *(pneuma)* which ſet the univerſe in order, but no more of his ideas have any reſemblance to what is contained in the Bible. He neither ſpeaks of the fall of man, nor of the deluge, nor of the diſperſing of the people over the face of the earth; it has therefore been ſaid, upon too ſlight grounds, that he was acquainted with the holy ſcriptures. Euſebius, who has preſerved a valuable fragment of that author, tranſlated by Philo of Biblos, accuſes him of tending to atheiſm; and the ſame thing has been repeated by a hundred writers, who have always aſſerted that his intention was to authorize idolatry. Theſe two accuſations ſeem contradictory; and it is more than probable, that the author has only related what were the theological opinions of his country, and what he himſelf believed. He mentions a firſt man and firſt woman, very different from Adam and Eve, and aſcribes the invention of arts to their deſcendants; to one the making of fire; to another the building of huts; and to others hunting, fiſhing, making utenſils of iron, &c. He reſts the authority of his hiſtory upon the writings of Thaaut, who was called Hermes by the Greeks, and Mercury by the Latins. His work is at preſent looked upon to be authentic, and his account of the firſt ages of the world, though clouded with fables and obſcure allegories, may be attended to with advantage. See the *Origine des Lois*, &c. Diſſertation X.

His coſmogony.

Conjectures about the opinions of that author.

The infancy of the human race according to Sanchoniathon.

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THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS, OR JEWS.

THE Hebrews did not become a people, or acquire a fixed eſtabliſhment, till a conſiderable time after thoſe nations of whom we have been now ſpeaking. They were only wandering ſhepherds, or ſlaves, till the time of their leaving Egypt; yet their books make the baſis of the Chriſtian faith. Here we ought humbly to reverence the admirable works of the Creator, and the incomprehenſible myſteries of his providence, which is the firſt object for the ſtudy of a Chriſtian; but, as I ſaid before, neither the Pentateuch, nor the other parts of the Bible, can be indifferently mixed with profane hiſtory, without confounding all our ideas. Can a theocratical government, directed by the immediate orders of the Supreme Being; a chain of miracles, ſubverting the order of nature; a train of uncommon actions, explained by ſupernatural principles; be proper ſubjects for critical diſcuſſion, or give juſt ideas of human policy and ſocial life? The Jews, confined to a ſmall ſpot, and from principle unwilling to mix with other people, continued long in obſcurity; they were almoſt perpetually enſlaved by every one who thought fit to attack them, and became objects of contempt and hatred to all their neighbours; a rude, barbarous, ſuperſtitious people, even unfaithful to the true God, who loaded them with benefits; a people who received knowledge and laws directly from heaven, yet ſcarcely deſerve to be reckoned in the number of civilized nations.

Beginning of the Jewiſh nation.

Theocratical different from all other governments.

Obſcurity of the Jews among the ancients.

Their character.

When we view them in the light moſt intereſting to the human mind, our inquiries muſt be limited to ſome

peculiarities in their laws and cuſtoms. This is not the place to ſpeak of thoſe divine precepts which every one is taught in his infancy.

The laws of religion blended with the civil law.

Their religious laws were blended with their civil law; or, to ſpeak more properly, the whole was a religious duty, becauſe it was ordained from God, or rather by God himſelf; but as that ſalutary reſtraint, the fear of the Lord, does not always check the paſſions, and as the Jews guided themſelves only by the ſenſes, they had ſcarcely any idea of a future ſtate; therefore there were dreadful threatenings and ſevere puniſhments denounced againſt offenders. He who broke the ſabbath was ſtoned; and it was a breach of the ſabbath to perform any ſort of work, to make any kind of purchaſe, or even to light a fire. Children, who obſtinately diſobeyed their parents, were puniſhed with death. A blaſphemer, an idolater, or an adulterer, might be inſtantly ſtoned without any form of trial. Such executions were called *the decree of zeal*; but might they not ſometimes become the decrees of hatred and fanaticiſm? Inſolvent debtors were made ſlaves. Crimes, which were looked upon as trivial by other nations, were frequently puniſhed with death by the Jews.

Severity of the Jewiſh laws.

Legal ceremonies in great number.

An endleſs number of expiations, legal ceremonies, and precepts, of which we do not know the origin, ſerved to keep this fickle people in ſubjection. There were a number of animals which they were forbidden to eat, ſuch as the hog, the hare, and the rabbit; crawling inſects, and fiſh without fins or ſcales. Theſe animals were reputed to be unclean, and the perſon was thought to be defiled who touched them even when dead. The aſhes of a red heifer were abſolutely neceſſary in the greateſt part of their expiations; and the *waters of jealouſy*, which were employed when a man ſuſpected his wife of infidelity, ſeem very much to reſemble our ancient judicial trials. Bitter herbs mixed with holy water, and a form of imprecation accompanied with ſome religious ceremonies, made the bellies of the guilty ſwell and burſt. (Numbers v. 24, &c.) The law

Waters of jealouſy.

of

of grace has abolished all these customs, as well as circumcision; which was positively commanded to the Jews. They, like many other nations, offered human sacrifices.

Sabbatical year, and jubilee.

Every seventh year was sabbatical, and then all the labours of agriculture were suspended; they gave their harvest to the poor, to strangers, and to orphans, and freedom to their slaves, discharging all debts which were owing to them by Israelites. They likewise did the same at their jubilee, which was celebrated every fiftieth year. At that period, every one resumed his property, in whatever manner it had been alienated. The desire of perpetuating families occasioned this law, which could not be reconciled with the common course of transactions in a great and wealthy nation. They had six cities of refuge, but they only served as sanctuaries, to protect those who fled to them from the severity of justice, in case of involuntary homicide; but assassins might be torn even from the altar, to suffer death. It is an inconceivable abuse to let asylums become a protection to criminals.

Cities of refuge.

Portion of the Priests.

Though the tribe of Levi, according to Jacob's prophecy, was to be dispersed among the others, and the Priests and Levites, according to a law in Deuteronomy, could have only the tithes, the offerings, and the ransom of the first born for their portion, yet the priests seem to have been very well provided. They had the possession of forty cities; they collected several kinds of tithes; the first fruits and offerings were considerable. Things vowed to God, except cattle, lands, and the fruits of the earth, might be redeemed for money; and these vows added greatly to the wealth of the priesthood. The chief priests exercised very great powers even in civil matters; and Moses ordained that, in all difficulties, the people should have recourse to the priests and judge, and, upon pain of death, to abide by their decision. (Deuteronomy, xvii. 8, &c.) From these different regulations, which are proper for a theocracy, many false consequences, contrary to sound government, have

Their authority.

been deduced; as if the new law was the law of Moſes, and to be a Chriſtian, it was neceſſary to have been a Jew.

The Jews ignorant of the ſciences.

All ſtrangers, their language, hiſtory, arts and ſciences, were looked upon with horrour or contempt by the Jews. They were entirely ignorant of navigation and aſtronomy, even after their return from Babylon. They looked upon eclipſes with an eye of ſuperſtition, without having a word in their language by which they could expreſs that phenomenon: however, they unqueſtionably brought from Egypt ſome of the natural knowledge and cuſtoms of that country. They always concealed their ſacred books from the reſt of mankind; and when Ptolemy Philadelphus procured a tranſlation of them, they inſtituted faſts to commemorate the ſuppoſed misfortune. There ſeems to have been an inſurmountable barrier between the Jews and the inhabitants of every part of the world, where either reaſon or politeneſs have been cultivated.

They concealed their ſacred writings.

Origin of poetry.

There is room to believe, in oppoſition to the opinion commonly received, that poetry among other nations did not ſpring from religion, ſince the ſongs of the ſavages only celebrate the praiſes and heroic deeds of their countrymen, and even ſmall nations are quoted, who, though they have no ideas of religion, yet have poets. In all probability, poetry ſprung from lively paſſions, or from a deſire to imprint facts upon the memory: but the Jews, from the firſt, dedicated it to the moſt ſacred purpoſe, and their Pſalms and Spiritual Songs exalted the ſoul to the throne of God. Moſt of the learned differ from Le Clerc, who thought theſe poems were in rhyme.

Whether the Hebrew is the original language.

Neither are there ſufficient proofs that the Hebrew was the mother tongue of the whole world; and, as M. Falconet obſerves, it is from a miſtaken zeal for religion that this opinion has been eſtabliſhed. The ancient commerce of the Phenicians, the diſperſion of the Jews, the conqueſts of the Arabs, and laſtly the cruſades, have probably introduced the oriental words which are found

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in the occidental languages. (*Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcript.* tom. xx.)

The Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philiſtines, who were at war with the Jews, are not worth mentioning; almoſt all of them, though idolaters, ſubmitted to circumciſion.

THE

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

CHAP. I.

Of the Medes before Cyrus.

Before Cyrus, their ancient hiſtory fabulous.

AS theſe two nations formed but one famous empire under Cyrus, before whoſe time every thing relating to their hiſtory is obſcure and uncertain, they ought to be included in the ſame article. It is neceſſary to repeat inceſſantly, how little the Greeks are to be credited upon the ſubject of antiquities. Their own reveries, frequently added to groundleſs traditions, were, by their writings, erected into hiſtorical monuments. If that able geographer Ptolemy computed that the Caſpian ſea, from eaſt to weſt, was twenty three degrees and a half, though in its greateſt extent it is leſs than four, how much more reaſon have we to believe that hiſtory muſt overflow with errours, at a time when it was written without either criticiſm or inquiry, but merely to pleaſe the taſte of thoſe who furniſhed its authors with fables!

The Medes ſhake off the Aſſyrian yoke.

We have no occaſion to examine what Cteſias and his follower Diodorus have ſaid about the ancient Medes; a ſingle obſervation will be ſufficient. It is of no conſequence whether Arbaces, governour of Media, which was under the Aſſyrian yoke, took advantage of the effeminacy of Sardanapalus to excite a revolt againſt him, or ſome other cauſe produced the ſame effect, but the Medes did ſhake off the yoke, and lived for ſome time in a ſtate of anarchy almoſt as dreadful as ſlavery, till they found that unbridled liberty was an inexhauſti-

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ble ſource of miſchief. To remedy this evil, they appointed Dejoces judge, who, by making laws, and adminiſtering juſtice, put an end to their diſturbances, and reſtored good order. Perhaps, it was with a view of being ſought after, and to be raiſed to a more elevated ſtation, that he ſuddenly retired, after a prudent diſcharge of his duty as a judge; but he was no ſooner gone, than licentiouſneſs renewed all their former miſeries, which Dejoces alone was thought capable of diſpelling, and therefore they choſe him king, about ſix hundred years before Jeſus Chriſt.

They choſe Dejoces judge, and afterwards king.

Being elated with his new dignity, or believing that deſpotiſm was neceſſary to reſtrain his ſubjects, he affected an exceſſive ſeverity; ſhut himſelf up within the walls of an inacceſſible palace, and, according to Herodotus, gave orders that nobody ſhould be admitted to the privilege of ſeeing him but the officers of his houſehold, and all others be obliged to apply to his miniſters; likewiſe, that whoever dared to laugh or ſpit in his preſence, ſhould be puniſhed. Monteſquieu obſerves, that this was a way to make royalty reſpected, but not the king. But is it not a way to make both the king and royalty hated?

His deſpotiſm.

It is ſaid, that the city of Ecbatana, the capital of the kingdom, built by Dejoces, was encompaſſed with ſeven walls, one riſing above another the height of the battlements, and theſe battlements were of different colours, white, black, purple, blue, orange, and the two laſt ſilvered and gilded. This deſcription of Herodotus ſeems to be of the ſame nature with that of mount Bagiſtan in Media, which, Diodorus ſays, was cut into a groupe by order of Semiramis, repreſenting her placed in the midſt of a hundred of her guards.

Fables concerning Ecbatana, and Mount Bagiſtan.

Diodorus gives us a liſt of the kings of Media, of whom Herodotus makes no mention, ſo that we may ſay they have written quite different hiſtories; but it is of little conſequence to us, to be acquainted with the hiſtory of theſe princes till the time of Cyrus.

The

Immutability of their laws.

The manners, laws and religion of the Medes were nearly the ſame with thoſe of the Perſians, of whom I am about to give an account. One thing which diſtinguiſhes the Medes, is, that the royal authority could neither change nor repeal a law once paſſed; and that

Education of princes.

the education of their princes was truſted ſolely to women and eunuchs. Thus an errour once made into a law could not be revoked, and the education of their princes, if we may uſe the expreſſion, would naturally

Strange polygamy

make them women! Polygamy was not only allowed, but commanded, in Media. Strabo ſays, that, in the mountainous parts, they were obliged to keep at leaſt ſeven wives; and that a woman was deſpiſed, if ſhe had not at leaſt five huſbands. (Strabo, l. xi.) But how is it poſſible to believe this, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that both men and women were common; and in that caſe, what appearance of marriage could remain? Formerly every thing ſaid by the Ancients was believed, but at preſent doubts ſpring up inceſſantly.

CHAP. II.

Of the Perſian Empire. Cyrus, and his immediate Succeſſors.

Antiquity of the Perſians.

THE Perſians are certainly one of the moſt ancient nations, and, in the opinion of the learned, formed a conſiderable power, even in the time of Abraham; but it was not till the reign of Cyrus, which was a very

Cyrus about 560 years before Jeſus Chriſt.

remarkable period, about five hundred and ſixty years before the Chriſtian era, that they became famous and truly formidable. It ſhould ſeem, that no period ought to be better known; yet the birth, the expeditions and death of that conqueror are hiſtorical problems impoſſible to be ſolved.

Nothing more uncertain than his hiſtory.

Herodotus, Cteſias, and Xenophon, who wrote about a century after Cyrus, give accounts as oppoſite, as if they had written at the diſtance of ſeveral ages. Who then

then is to be believed? Xenophon's Cyropedia is plainly the work of a philoſopher, rather than a hiſtorian, a kind of moral and political romance, compoſed for the inſtruction of princes and ſtateſmen. Some people, ſuppoſing the facts to be true, becauſe he had an opportunity of being informed on the ſpot; and eſpecially becauſe they are more agreeable to ſcripture, made it the ſource from whence they have taken their hiſtories; but theſe reaſons, ſo far from being certain, are but probabilities very ſlightly founded. Is it not very ſingular, that people can expect to diſcover truth with certainty, in a work which is interwoven with fables? After the learned Freret, I muſt add, that Xenophon's conformity with the ſcripture is imaginary; for he rather contradicts the ſcripture; and even his Cyropedia is invalidated by his hiſtory of the expedition of Cyrus the younger, where he ſays, that Cyrus got poſſeſſion of the empire of Media, by gaining a victory over his grandfather Aſtyages, which is agreeable to the hiſtories of Herodotus and Cteſias. (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcript.* tom. vii.)

Xenophon's Cyropedia.

No credit can be given to it.

While we warmly recommend the Cyropedia, of which Rollin and the Engliſh authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory have given an abſtract, we cannot join with them, in allowing it to be a ſource of hiſtorical information worthy of credit. A few juſt obſervations are infinitely preferable to uncertain narrations.

Cyrus, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Cambyſes king of Perſia, and of Mandane daughter of Aſtyages king of Media, was undoubtedly the founder of a vaſt empire, which he eſtabliſhed by his conqueſts. At the famous battle of Thymbra, he defeated the Babylonians, overthrew their empire, and after a long ſiege took the city of Babylon, by changing the courſe of the river Euphrates, through whoſe channel he made his way into the heart of the city, while the inhabitants were immerſed in the drunkenneſs of a feſtival. Five hundred and thirty ſix years before Jeſus Chriſt, he publiſhed the famous decree, which permitted the Jews to return

Principal events concerning Cyrus

return to Jeruſalem, after threeſcore and ten years captivity; and then purſuing his conqueſts, he extended his dominions to the river Indus on the eaſt; to the Caſpian and Black Sea on the north; to the Egean on the weſt; to Ethiopia and the Arabian Gulph, on the ſouth; making it the greateſt empire which till that time had ever exiſted.

Contradictory accounts of the death of Cyrus.

According to Xenophon, that hero died in his bed, after a glorious reign of thirty years; but Herodotus ſays, that he was defeated and killed fighting againſt Tomyris, Queen of the Maſſagetes, who, with her own hands, threw his head into a veſſel full of blood, ſaying, *Thou haſt always thirſted after blood, now take thy fill.* By Diodorus Siculus's account, he was crucified by this princeſs. Cteſias makes him die of a wound which he received in Hyrcania, and different writers kill him in different ways. Such is the authority of hiſtories which depend ſolely upon tradition.

Cyrus quite different in Xenophon and in Herodotus.

Xenophon makes his Cyrus a model for princes and mankind. He fights ſolely in defence of his uncle Cyaxares, ſon of Aſtyages, whoſe only daughter he married, and gains the love of all mankind by his moderation. His priſoner, the beautiful young Princeſs Panthea, found in him a protector of her virtue; and her huſband, King Abradates, impelled by gratitude, comes over to the army of Cyrus. The Cyrus of Herodotus is very different. He takes up arms, and ſeizes the crown of his grandfather Aſtyages. Having conCroeſus. quered Croeſus, King of Lydia, he moſt barbarouſly ordered him to be burnt alive. When Croeſus was placed upon the pile, he exclaimed, *O Solon! Solon!* and being aſked the reaſon of his invoking Solon, he anſwered, That a philoſopher of that name, upon ſeeing his immenſe riches, had formerly told him, *That no man could call himſelf happy while he lived, as he could not foreſee what might happen to him before his death*; a truth, adds he, which I now know by woful experience. Cyrus, being ſtruck with theſe words, and reflecting on the inconſtancy of fortune, revoked his inhuman ſentence,

at

at the idea of which his heart ſhould have recoiled. Herodotus's Cyrus, like almoſt all conquerors, is a ſcourge to the human race, while the Cyrus of Xenophon is a bleſſing to the nations he conquered.

What may be conjectured of Cyrus's character.

Perhaps, the real Cyrus was only ſkilful and ambitious, a great man, and good enough prince to entitle him to the encomiums which were beſtowed upon him, notwithſtanding the acts of injuſtice which were the fruit of his ambition. The diſcipline which he introduced into his army; the arms which he gave them for cloſe fighting, inſtead of bows and arrows, to which they had been accuſtomed before his time, undoubtedly contributed greatly to his ſucceſs.

If the hiſtory of his immediate ſucceſſors be examined with accuracy, we ſhall find it too blended with a number of fables, which makes it very much to be doubted. I ſhall only point out ſome of the moſt remarkable events.

Conqueſt of Egypt about the year 525. CAMBYSES.

It is but ſeldom, that the glory of the parent deſcends to the children; but when they tarniſh it by their own miſconduct, it loads them with infamy. Cambyſes, the ſon of Cyrus, ſhewed himſelf a monſter upon that throne which his father had filled with the greateſt luſtre, and in his whole conduct appeared to be a furious madman. His hatred againſt Amaſis, King of Egypt, inſpired him with a deſire of laying waſte and ſubduing that kingdom; but upon his arrival on the frontiers, he was informed of the death of that monarch, who was ſucceeded by Pſammeticus; however, he continued his march, gained a great victory over the Egyptians, and by his cruelties rendered his name odious. Herodotus ſays, that he ſaw the ſkulls with which the field of battle was ſtrewed, in his time; thoſe of the Egyptians were hard as ſtone, becauſe the heads of the children of that country were ſhaved, and the bones were hardened by the ſun; thoſe of the Perſians were ſoft and brittle, becauſe they were accuſtomed to wear turbans from their infancy. But nothing can ſupply the want of valour, in which the Egyptians were deficient.

Superſtition haſtened the ruin of the Egyptians

If we may depend upon the hiſtory of thoſe times, the ruin of the Egyptians was haſtened by ſuperſtition. It is ſaid, that Cambyſes, being deſirous to take the city of Peluſium by aſſault, placed a multitude of cats, dogs, and other animals that were deemed ſacred in Egypt, in the firſt rank of his army, ſo that the Egyptians, from a fear of wounding their gods, did not attempt to diſcharge their weapons againſt the enemy, and by this means the place was taken without oppoſition. A ſuperſtitious idea is ſufficient to extinguiſh ſentiments the moſt affecting to human nature, love of country, and the deſire of ſelf-preſervation. From that time, the Egyptians were always ſlaves to ſtrangers whom they deſpiſed.

Expedition againſt Ethiopia.

Cambyſes being reſolved likewiſe to ſubdue Ethiopia, a ſavage country, where bodily ſtrength was the greateſt merit, ſent ſpies under the title of ambaſſadours; but the King of Ethiopia, who ſaw his intention, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadours with orders to carry his bow to their maſter, with this advice, That he ſhould make war againſt the Ethiopians, when the Perſians had ſufficient ſtrength to bend that bow with the ſame eaſe that he could, and *thank the Gods*, added he, *for not having inſpired us with a deſire to extend our territories*. Cambyſes was ſo enraged, that he immediately marched, without either having formed a plan for his conduct, or furniſhed himſelf with proviſions, which ſoon obliged him to return with diſgrace.

He ordered his brother Smerdis, who was the only man able to bend the King of Ethiopia's bow, to be aſſaſſinated. He eſpouſed his own ſiſter, after having, for form ſake, referred the queſtion of this inceſtuous marriage to the judges of his kingdom, whoſe ſervile meanneſs could not but comply with his deſires. Their anſwer was, *That indeed they had no law which permitted a brother to marry his ſiſter, but they had one which permitted the kings of Perſia to do whatever they thought proper.*

Inceſtuous marriage of Cambyſes approved by the judges

The

The following inſtance will give a ſtill ſtronger picture of deſpotiſm and ſlaviſh meanneſs. Cambyſes aſked his favourite one day, what was ſaid of him in private converſation. "Your great qualities are much admired," replied Prexaſpes, the name of the favourite, "but they alledge you love wine too much." *They undoubtedly ſuppoſe*, ſaid the King, *that wine impairs my faculties; you ſhall judge immediately.* He preſently began drinking to exceſs; and then, ordering the ſon of Prexaſpes to ſtand at the end of the apartment, with his left hand upon his head, he took a bow, and having bent it, ſaid he would ſhoot the young man through the heart, which he accordingly did, adding exultingly to the father, *Have I a ſteady hand?* To which the contemptible flatterer, as if unaffected with the murder of his ſon, replied, *Apollo could not have aimed better.*

Cruelty of Cambyſes, and meanneſs of his favourite.

Cambyſes was informed, on his return to Perſia, that ſome conſpirators had choſen him a ſucceſſor, which made him threaten immediate vengeance; but an accidental wound from his own ſword delivered the world from his cruel tyranny. The new king was one of the Magi, a prieſt unworthy of reigning: He declared that he was Prince Smerdis, the brother of Cambyſes, who had been put to death. The impoſture was diſcovered, and a conſpiracy being formed by ſome of the nobility, they murdered the counterfeit Smerdis, and Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, one of the conſpirators, became maſter of the empire. Can we believe, with Herodotus, that the affair was decided by the neighing of his horſe?

Death of Cambyſes.

Counterfeit Smerdis.

That monarch laid ſiege to Babylon, which had rebelled againſt his authority; and deſpair inſpired the beſieged with a moſt inhuman reſolution. They deſtroyed all the uſeleſs mouths in the city, old men, women, and children; and Darius was about to renounce the enterpriſe, when Zopyrus, one of the chief of the Perſian nobility, is ſaid to have devoted himſelf, with a moſt unexampled generoſity, to the glory and intereſt of his maſter. Having cut off his noſe and ears, and mangled his whole body, he took ſhelter in the city, preſenting

Darius I.

Zopyrus made him maſter of Babylon, in the year 510.

preſenting himſelf to the inhabitants, as a victim to Darius's cruelty. The Babylonians placed confidence in him, and gave him the command of their army. He cut in pieces at different ſallies fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Perſians, and at laſt threw open the gates of Babylon, for which ſervice the king beſtowed upon him the whole revenue of the city.

Darius's tyranny.

If we were to judge from an inſtance of tyranny, which is mentioned by Herodotus, Darius did not deſerve ſuch extraordinary ſacrifices. His ambition having prompted him to take up arms againſt the Scythians, who inhabited the country lying between the Tanais and the Danube, Ebaſus, a reſpectable old man, earneſtly entreated him to leave one of his three ſons to comfort him, while the other two ſhould go to ſerve in that war: *One will not be ſufficient*, replied Darius, *I will leave you all three*, and immediately put them to death. How can tyrants who ſport with the lives of their ſubjects expect to be well ſerved?

His unfortunate expedition againſt the Scythians.

The Scythians (at preſent the Tartars) were a poor, bold, unconquerable people, who placed their greateſt happineſs in liberty. It is ſaid, that they ſent to Darius a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows; an enigma which was explained in the following manner, by one of the Perſian Lords—"*If the Perſians do not fly away like* "*birds, or hide themſelves in the earth like mice, or dive* "*into the water like frogs, they will not eſcape the Scythian* "*arrows.*" It was an eaſtern cuſtom to employ allegorical figures, but it is evident that this was an after ſtroke, and nothing can ſhew better the fondneſs of ancient hiſtorians for the marvellous and fable. However, this imprudent expedition of Darius proved unfortunate, for he was obliged to retreat, with the loſs of a great part of his army, after having learned, that men who love liberty are not ſo eaſy to be ſubdued, as ſlaves are to be oppreſſed.

From this period, the hiſtory of the Perſians will be united with that of Greece, where we ſhall give an account of the moſt celebrated events, and deſcribe that

nation

nation which, of all antiquity, is the moſt deſerving of our attention.

CHAP. III.

The Government, Laws, Cuſtoms and Manners of the Perſians.

Deſpotiſm began in Aſia.

ASIA, but more particularly the countries of Media and Perſia, gave birth to deſpotiſm, the moſt odious of all governments, which ſubjects the lives and fortunes of the many, to the abſolute diſpoſal of an individual. If we may judge from the peaceable ſtate of the people, the beſt as well as moſt ancient form of government is monarchy, moderated by prudent laws, and the execution ſupported by the prince who makes thoſe laws the rule of his own conduct. The Platos, Ariſtotles, and Plutarchs, are obliged to acknowledge it, notwithſtanding their republican prejudices. But, when a man ſets himſelf up as a deity, treading his fellow creatures under his feet, without any law but his own caprice, or the leaſt reſpect for the natural rights of humanity, it is the very extreme of violence and uſurpation; it owes its exiſtence either to the ſword always prepared for murder, or to ſlaviſh cowardice ready to receive the galling chain.

Whether ſuch a government can ſubſiſt without being limited.

Is it poſſible, that a form of government can ſubſiſt, where the people are at the mercy of the prince, ſo that they have neither ſecurity for their property, nor for their perſonal ſafety? Undoubtedly deſpotiſm every where finds ſome boundary either in fundamental laws, cuſtoms, manners, general intereſts, or in its own particular intereſt. Love of liberty, and a hatred of the Perſians, certainly made the Greeks paint Aſiatic deſpotiſm in colours much too ſtrong: however, amidſt theſe exaggerations there is too much truth, and the preſent ſtate of Aſia, in many reſpects, confirms the teſtimony of the Ancients.

The

Idea of Perſian deſpotiſm

The Perſian deſpot, for we can ſcarce give him any other name, aſſumed the title of *The Great King, or the King of Kings*. The people were obliged to proſtrate themſelves before him as a divinity; and we have ſeen to what degree of meanneſs his courtiers were reduced, when the leaſt inattention expoſed them to capital puniſhment. Xenophon mentions two people, whom the younger Cyrus put to death, for not having covered their hands with their ſleeves in his preſence.

The ſuperiority of a good king over a deſpot.

Let us compare theſe frightful idols with an affable, beneficent prince in the midſt of his ſubjects, like the father of a family, inſpiring love and reſpect by his looks, deriving the ſtrength of his government from his ſacred regard to the laws, puniſhing only criminals, and receiving the homage of the heart rather than of compulſion, and we ſhall eaſily judge which of the two is the image of the Supreme Being, who, having created all men equal, would not have eſtabliſhed ſome ſuperiour to the reſt, but for the good of the whole.

Excellent education of the Perſian princes.

That education, however, which Plato ſays was given to the princes who were intended to ſucceed to the crown of Perſia, was well calculated to make them great men and excellent kings. At ſeven years of age they were taught the bodily exerciſes; after which, the chief eunuchs or officers of the palace inſtructed them in the firſt leſſons of morality. At fourteen they were put under the care of four men, eminently diſtinguiſhed by their prudence and abilities. The firſt taught them the doctrine of the *Magi*, or the ſcience of religion and government; the ſecond accuſtomed them to ſpeak truth, and to do juſtice; the third, to ſubdue their paſſions by temperance; and the fourth, to acquire a courage ſuperiour to every ſenſe of fear and danger. *(Plat. in Alcib.* i.)

Cauſes which rendered this education fruitleſs.

Without examining whether it would be more proper to ſeparate theſe objects of inſtruction, or to unite them in forming a good moral and political ſyſtem, it is evident that the fruits of ſuch an education, ſuppoſing, what appears to me incredible, that it continued in uſe after

after the time of Cyrus, muſt be ſoon loſt in the intoxication of deſpotiſm, in the boſom of luxury, effeminacy, and voluptuouſneſs, ſurrounded with every object the moſt likely to corrupt the head and the heart. The kings of Perſia, intoxicated with pride and the indulgence of their paſſions, forgot that they were men; they worſhipped themſelves by requiring adoration from their ſlaves. There is a proclamation aſcribed to Xerxes, which offered a very high reward to whoever ſhould diſcover a new pleaſure. If ſuch a proclamation could have exiſted, it ſerves to diſplay the character of a deſpot, ſhut up in his ſeraglio, where he looks upon himſelf as the centre of the univerſe.

Diſgraceful proclamation of Xerxes.

The Perſians had ſome regulations in their government and legiſlation uncommonly excellent; but it is certain, that deſpotiſm made them degenerate into grievances. The kingdom was divided into provinces, and the ſatraps or governours received their inſtructions immediately from the king, and were accountable for every thing to him. To facilitate their correſpondence, couriers were eſtabliſhed, who travelled day and night to carry diſpatches; which is a cuſtom ſaid to be introduced by Cyrus, and not known till very lately in Europe. We find that the univerſity of Paris, at a time when they were playing a too diſtinguiſhed part, employed couriers, even before the kings had any appointed for the affairs of ſtate.

Satraps.

Eſtabliſhment of poſts.

Leſt the ſatraps ſhould abuſe their authority, the king of Perſia viſited the provinces in perſon, or ſent ſome eminent men as commiſſioners, who were commonly called *the eyes and ears of the prince*. An excellent cuſtom, provided the report of thoſe eyes and ears was faithful and effectual. It was the duty of an officer of the crown to wake the king every morning, and ſay to him, *Ariſe, prince, and think of the functions for which Oromazes* placed you upon the throne.* Theſe fine forms prove nothing; for if the heart is not affected with a

The provinces viſited by the king or his commiſſioners.

Advice daily given to the king.

* *Oromazes*, or *Oroſmades*, was the Perſian name for God.

ſenſe of its duty, the ear is deaf to the leſſons of prudence.

Adminiſtration of the finances.

The finances were looked upon with reaſon as an important object of political adminiſtration, without which every thing in a great ſtate would languiſh and decay. Every province had its ſeparate treaſury, in which all contributions were depoſited; and if we may judge by the ſums which Alexander found in many places, they were immenſe: for example, fifty thouſand talents of ſilver in ingots at Suſa. During the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyſes, the people taxed themſelves voluntarily, for the ſupport of the king and his army. Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, impoſed annual taxes, which procured him the name of the *Merchant*. The Perſians paid no taxes for their lands; but money and proviſions were levied from their provinces, probably the conquered provinces. Rollin obſerves, that the practice of receiving part of the contributions in kind, diſplays wiſdom, moderation, and humanity; becauſe in thoſe parts of the country that were remote from commerce, the people could not turn their commodities into money, but at a conſiderable loſs. This obſervation may be juſt, if nothing was taken from the people but what the neceſſities of the ſtate required; but that cannot be eaſily imagined, ſince, in time of war, *beſide theſe ordinary impoſts, two provinces were taxed a quantity of corn, ſufficient to maintain a hundred and twenty thouſand men.*

Nature of the taxes.

Population encouraged.

Population and agriculture, two of the moſt important objects, and eſſentially united, attracted the attention of their government; and here religion went hand in hand with politics. The Perſians looked upon a numerous poſterity as a heavenly bleſſing, and the king beſtowed rewards annually upon thoſe who had many children. That population may be a bleſſing, it is neceſſary that the earth ſhould ſupply ſufficient nouriſhment for its inhabitants. Agriculture, that nurſe of the human race, that ſource of plenty, health, and innocent pleaſures, that preſerver of morals, and, as Xenophon calls it, that ſchool of all the virtues, was in an

Agriculture honoured.

Xenophon's Oecon.

eminent

eminent degree honoured and encouraged in Perſia as well as in Egypt. They even eſteemed fertilizing the earth as an act of religious merit. They acquainted the king with the ſtate of cultivation; who puniſhed the remiſſneſs of ſome, while he rewarded the induſtry of others, and one day in the year he partook of the feaſt of the labourers. *(Hyde's Rel. Perſ.)* The younger Cyrus planted many trees with his own hands; which would not be a ſubject of encomium, if the intention did not place the amuſement in the moſt reſpectable light. Even at this day the emperour of China, on a particular feſtival, holds the plough, that he may ſet the example to his ſubjects: a ceremony which, as it certainly produces the beſt effect, is perhaps more worthy of the throne, than all thoſe that are intended to diſplay the pride of royalty.

Cruel neceſſity of war.

If the forgetting thoſe evils which war has occaſioned could prevent ſimilar diſaſters, it were well that the very name ſhould be blotted from the annals of the world; but the paſſions, which have always given riſe to that ſcourge of the human race, will ſtill continue to produce it. Although man certainly was not created to fight with his fellow creatures, like the wolves and tigers who ſeem to be intended to devour other animals; and though he can only become cruel by ſtifling the cries of nature; yet war is found to be neceſſarily interwoven with the political conſtitution. The moſt juſt and humane princes are ſometimes obliged to undertake it; either on account of injuries received from their neighbours, or ambitious powers; and, expoſed to ſuch a ſituation, they find it neceſſary to keep warriors to defend the rights of their ſubjects, who muſt be diſciplined and trained to the uſe of arms, made valuable in the ſight of their countrymen, and formidable to the enemy.

The Perſians good ſoldiers in Cyrus's time.

The Perſians were good ſoldiers in the time of Cyrus; for by being accuſtomed, from their infancy, to a hard laborious life, and military exerciſes, they were able to endure fatigue, and meet danger with moſt undaunted courage; from the time they were able to bear arms,

until old age, it was a duty to engage in a military life.

Armed conſtantly

It has been obſerved, that it was the practice of the Perſians to be always armed, even in time of peace: a dangerous cuſtom, unknown to the Greeks and Romans, but introduced into Europe by the barbarians of Germany.

Cuſtoms and prejudices in favour of war.

The Perſians had an opinion, which probably was derived from ſome religious idea, that thoſe who were killed in battle were happy; and the ſame prejudice, which was calculated to cheriſh a martial ardour, prevailed likewiſe among other warlike nations. Their women and children followed them to the field; which was another incentive to courage. But what a multitude of inconveniences muſt have accompanied ſuch a retinue! They were, like the chariots armed with ſcythes, ſeldom uſeful, and frequently injurious. The Cyropedia will give military men inſtructions in the art of war, but the narrow limits of our plan exclude us from entering into longer details. After the time of Cyrus, his people ſoon became enervated by effeminacy, and numbers could never make up for the want of diſcipline. All the conquering nations in Aſia have experienced the ſame revolution.

Juſtice. Anecdote of Cambyſes.

Juſtice ſeems to have had proper influence, at leaſt for a time, in the Perſian empire. Cambyſes, having put to death a judge who had allowed himſelf to be corrupted, ordered his ſkin to be ſtretched upon the tribunal where the ſon of that judge was to ſucceed his father. They never truſted the adminiſtration of juſtice but to men who were advanced to maturity, becauſe they thought that youth was not fit for the diſcharge of ſuch awful employments. The accuſed was confronted with the accuſer, who, in caſe of having charged him wrongfully, ſuffered the puniſhment due to the crime alledged againſt the perſon accuſed.

The accuſer and accuſed brought face to face.

They did not puniſh a firſt offence with death.

An ancient law forbid the prince to puniſh a firſt offence with death; the whole tenour of a guilty perſon's life was examined, and if the good was found to outweigh the bad, the rigour of the law was mitigated. (*Herod.* I.)

(*Herod.* I.) It ſeems, that, except a few atrocious crimes, which muſt have proceeded from hardened hearts, and required dreadful examples, no faults, which were only the effects of human frailty, could entirely efface the merits of a virtuous life. How many ways are there of puniſhing, without taking the lives of people whoſe ſervices might make a reparation for their offences!

Care of the people's morals.

If we may credit the Cyropedia, the Perſian legiſlation was excellent, as it was not limited to the puniſhment of crimes, but prevented all temptation of committing them, by inſpiring the people with a deteſtation of vice, and a love of virtue. The children had a public education, which is beſt calculated for making them good citizens, and were kept from their father's houſe till the age of ſeventeen, in the hands of reſpectable maſters, whoſe ſole care was to make them brave, juſt, and wiſe: thoſe that were not bred up in this excellent ſchool, were excluded from all honours and employments. However, we are likewiſe told, that the fathers had the care of the education of their children, *If you wiſh to be ſaints*, ſay their ſacred writings, *inſtruct your children, becauſe all their good deeds will be imputed to you.* (*Hyde.*) To this religious motive, undoubtedly, reaſon added ſome, ſtill more affecting.

Education of their children.

The puniſhment of vice.

Some vices, which are too ſeldom puniſhed in ſociety, did not eſcape the vigilance of the Perſian laws. An ungrateful perſon might be ſummoned to a trial, and puniſhed. Our laws ſcarce puniſh in any caſe, but where an attack is made upon perſons or their property. Sentiments of honour, or the dread of reproach, might ſupply the defect, if theſe ſentiments were properly impreſſed upon the mind, and corruption had not rather given a luſtre than affixed a diſgrace to particular vices.

The authority of fathers.

The power of life and death, which fathers had over their children, an inhuman right, eſtabliſhed among many of the ancient nations, was ſoftened by a prohibition of exerciſing it for ſlight faults, or a firſt offence. Beſides, as the children had the higheſt reſpect for their fathers,

fathers, there was ſeldom occaſion for them to employ that power; they looked upon parricide as a crime naturally impoſſible, and therefore had no law againſt it.

Love of truth among the Perſians.

The love of truth was a virtue which ſtrongly characterized the Perſians, as it was held infamous among them to tell a lie, as well as to live upon credit, becauſe meanneſs and falſehood ſeemed to be inſeparable from ſuch a life. A people whoſe conduct and converſation are regulated by truth, muſt be both reſpectable and happy; but when they are led by ſelf-intereſt, and their morals corrupted, it is impoſſible but they muſt be contaminated by falſehood; which undoubtedly the Perſians experienced, when they gave themſelves up to luxury, and of courſe to a love of riches, which annihilates every virtuous ſentiment.

Eunuchs.

The odious cuſtom of having eunuchs to guard the women, which prevailed univerſally in Aſia, is aſcribed to their diſſoluteneſs. They are not only accuſed of carrying polygamy and concubinage to the greateſt exceſs, but likewiſe of inceſtuous marriages with their own mothers and daughters, which were perhaps limited to a few examples, as they are both repugnant to modeſty and ſound policy.* Plutarch tells us, that Artaxerxes Mnemon married one of his daughters by the advice of his mother, who, to flatter his criminal paſſion, was not aſhamed to ſay—*It is you whom God has given as the only law to the Perſians, as the ſole rule of what is honourable and diſhononrable, vicious or virtuous.*

Inceſtuous marriages.

Approved by flattery

Shameful ſervility of the Perſians.

Such, at laſt, was the ſervile diſpoſition of the Perſians, that they could look upon the crimes of their ſovereign with a kind of veneration: they did not even bluſh at being his ſlaves; and we are told, that after having been ſcourged by his command, they thanked him for being ſo good as to remember them. This is not incredible, ſince China preſents us with examples of the ſame nature.

The cauſe of their ruin.

The old philoſophers looked upon this ſlaviſh temper to

* Philo alledges, that the religion of Zoroaſter recommended marriage with mothers. The Egyptians authorized marriage with ſiſters.

to be one of the cauſes of the downfal of Perſia; for what exertion can be expected from men who have no ideas of liberty? Other cauſes were aſſigned by theſe ſages; ſuch as luxury, the origin of univerſal corruption; the bad education of their princes, which is the ſource of vices in government; the want of ſincerity, from whence ſpring flattery and treachery, with every crime that can prove ruinous to ſociety. The Perſians degenerated ſtrangely upon the acquiſition of too much wealth and power. It is very extraordinary, that the admirers of Cyrus, without ſeeing the contradiction, allow that he was in ſome degree the cauſe of that alteration; for, after his conqueſts, he affected the magnificence of the Medes; he allowed and deſired that the people ſhould proſtrate themſelves in humble adoration before him; and, although he knew the advantage of a good education by experience, he totally neglected that of his ſon's. We may conclude then that Cyrus, like Alexander, with ſome heroic qualities, was a dangerous example to be followed by princes.

Cyrus was a cauſe of their degeneracy.

CHAP. IV.

Religion of the Perſians.

OF all the religions which have been of human invention, there is not one which approaches ſo near to the truth, or is leſs contaminated with ſuperſtitions, than that of the Perſians, which ſtill ſubſiſts among their deſcendants the Parſi or Guebres. Herodotus, and a number of other writers, were but ill informed of it, as well as many other ſubjects, of which they have ſpoken upon bad authorities. They repreſent the Perſians as idolaters, who worſhipped the ſun, fire, and deities formed by their own hands; but inquiry has diſpelled ſuch miſtakes, and theſe are inconteſtible evidences to prove that they acknowledge the unity of God, and to him their worſhip was immediately directed.

The Perſians worſhipped only one God.

ed. Their *Mithras*, or the ſun, and the ſacred fire which they carefully preſerved, were only emblems of the divine power. They had no temples, declaring that it was an inſult to the Deity to attempt to encloſe him within walls; they rejected images, as unworthy of the Inviſible Being; and they deteſted the Sabian ſuperſtitions, that is to ſay, Chaldean idolatry.

Zoroaſter. It is difficult to aſcertain the period when their famous legiſlator Zoroaſter, or Zerdhuſt, lived;* but they ſay, that he came to purge their religion from the errours which had been introduced by the Sabians. It is from him that they derived the doctrine of two principles, not ſuch as it has been ſince taught by the Manicheans, but free from abſurd contradictions. The purpoſe of this doctrine is to explain the origin of evil, ſo as to ſhew that God is not the author of it. According to the Perſian ſyſtem, the good principle is a ſupreme, eternal and independent being, who created light and darkneſs, and is called *Oromazes*: the bad principle, *Arimanus*, derives his origin from darkneſs, and though oppoſed in every thing to the purpoſes of Oromazes, yet, in ſpite of himſelf, miniſters continually to his glory; and from thence the mixture of good and evil is derived. This conteſt will laſt to the end of the world; then there will be a reſurrection, the light ſeparated from darkneſs, and the righteous and the wicked ſhall meet the fate they have deſerved.

Doctrine of two principles

The Sadder. The *Sadder*, the ſacred book of the Perſians, which has been made known all over Europe by the learned Thomas Hyde, contains ſublime ideas united with moſt excellent leſſons of morality. Nor is this to be wondered at; for in every age, and in every country, ſound reaſon may lead man to all that forms human wiſdom, when confined within the bounds of nature. The duties preſcribed to the *Magi*, or prieſts, were well calculated for a ſtation to be filled by men who were to ſet an

* The common opinion is, that Zoroaſter lived in the time of Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and reformed the religion which had been eſtabliſhed by another of the ſame name, who lived many ages before.

an example, and give instructions to the ignorant. The following precepts relate to the Chief Priest. I. He must preserve himself spotless, because God has made choice of him to be holy. II. He should take tithes from the laity, but only as Almoner of the Deity, that he may divide among the poor the tribute paid by the rich. III. He ought to be not only well skilled in the law, but likewise in every science, because it is his duty to instruct all the professors of his religion. IV. He ought to study chiefly to distinguish truth from errour. V. He should fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. VI. Though he may be honoured with revelations from heaven, he ought not to publish them, because he will perplex the people, who ought to be guided by the written law. (See *The Universal History*, vol. III. or Hyde, *Rel. vet. Pers:* 13.)

Precepts for the Magi.

While the Magi adhered to these regulations, they must have shewn themselves worthy ministers of their religion, excellent magistrates for the preservation of morals; and the more respectable, as the influence they had over the minds of the people, was employed solely for the public good. Their manners were austere, but without misanthropy; and, according to the description of Diogenes Laertius, they were plainly dressed, and slept upon the ground; their food was herbs, cheese and bread, and their principal employment praying to God, and exhorting the people to live good lives; but, like the Egyptian and Chaldean priests, they acquired too much power to remain confined to the discharge of their religious duties.

Austere lives of the Magi.

Their too great authority.

The kings and great men were educated by them; no important affair was determined without their advice; and Pliny assures us, that even in his time *they commanded the King of Kings*. (L. 30. c. 1.) As the credit of the Magi depended chiefly upon their knowledge, they kept it a mystery, and no foreigner was allowed to receive instruction without leave from the prince, which was a favour granted to Themistocles at the time when he served the Persians against his own country. The

Greek

Greek philoſophers greatly reſpected the ſchools of the Magi, and it is ſaid that from them Pythagoras derived ſome of his doctrines.

How the ancient prieſts acquired too much power.

Let your imagination glance over Perſia, Chaldea, Egypt and India, and return by Germany and Gaul, and you will find every where in the prieſthood nearly the ſame attachment to the intereſts of their order, and the ſame conduct. All the ancient prieſts, who formed a diſtinct claſs of men, had likewiſe their ſeparate intereſts, of which they were exceſſively jealous. Being the depoſitories of religion and ſcience, the umpires of kings, and the oracles of the people, how was it poſſible but they ſhould frequently abuſe their power? a power moſt excellent when ſolely employed for the preſervation of morals, but equally fatal when it becomes an inſtrument of the paſſions! It was an errour common to all the different governments, or rather the effect of human ignorance, which could not fix a proper boundary between civil authority and religious offices, nor reſpect the prieſthood in proportion to the advantages ariſing from it, without furniſhing it with means and motives for employing them againſt the public intereſt. The more the clerical function is venerable, the greater care ſhould be taken to prevent its being abuſed; but religion having been one of the principal foundations of civil ſociety, we ſhould not be ſurpriſed to find that its miniſters, after having guided the morals and opinions of the people, ſhould poſſeſs the ſecret, and of courſe the deſire, to acquire wealth, or aſſume the reins of government.

A remarkable paſſage from an ancient Perſian book.

The Perſian hiſtorians celebrate one of the ancient kings, whoſe name was Huſhang, to whom they aſcribe their firſt code of laws, the diviſion of the empire into provinces, and the invention of moſt of the inſtruments of agriculture, and likewiſe the writing a book, whoſe title is, *The Wiſdom of all Ages.* This book is full of enthuſiaſm and excellent maxims. The paſſage which I ſhall tranſcribe from the Univerſal Hiſtory, will give an idea of eaſtern wiſdom. "Great kings are gods

"upon

" upon earth, who, in power, wiſdom and goodneſs, are " as much ſuperiour to the reſt of men, as God is ſupe- " riour to them. Let not their high rank, however, " lead them to behave with ſeverity to their ſubjects. " The thunder is heard but ſeldom, the ſun ſhines every " day. For one inſtance of vengeance, God beſtows " ten thouſand tokens of his favour. Kings ought to " imitate him, by doing all the good they can. Let " them recollect, that though it is in their power to " take away life, it is not in their power to reſtore it. " Therefore be careful not to decide raſhly, and prevent " fruitleſs regret. Miniſters are inſtruments in the " hands of monarchs, but it is to theſe that the people " muſt have recourſe when they are ill uſed. Let a " king be careful in the choice of his miniſters, for the " laying offences to their charge will have as little effect " in calming his enraged people, as for a murderer to " plead in his vindication, that it was his ſword, and " not himſelf, which ſlew his neighbour. Wicked " princes have ſometimes had good miniſters, but vir- " tuous princes have ſeldom continued bad miniſters " long in their ſervice," &c. However ancient this work may be, it certainly cannot be of ſo early a date as is repreſented. Men are poſſeſſed with a ſtrange paſſion for heightening the value of things, by giving them a fabulous antiquity, when their greateſt merit ſhould conſiſt in their conformity with good ſenſe.

THE

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

Antiquity of the Indians.

IF we were to judge of the antiquity of a people from the beauty and fertility of the country they poſſeſs, the Indians, eſpecially upon the banks of the river Ganges, were perhaps the firſt civilized nation. This conjecture is confirmed by their monuments; and though the fragment written by Cteſias upon India is filled with falſehoods, and the oriental hiſtories of it are ſtill more fabulous, yet it is known that the ancients travelled into that country for inſtruction; and there are even now learned men of ſound judgment, who believe that the Egyptians, and the Greeks after them, received both their religion and philoſophy from thence. It is ſcarcely to be doubted that the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls, had its origin there, which is a ſufficient proof of its antiquity. That ſouls have paſſed from one body into another, has been believed from time immemorial, both in Egypt and Aſia.

Diviſion into claſſes.

According to Arrian, an author of veracity, the Indians were a free people, and divided into ſeven different claſſes, which were never confounded by intermarriages.

Inſpectors

One claſs were *Inſpectors*, whoſe duty it was to give an account to the prince of the conduct of the reſt.

Labourers

The labourers enjoyed a degree of reſpect proportioned to the importance of agriculture; they were never taken from the country to be otherwiſe employed; in time of war, an inviolable law preſerved both their perſons and property untouched; they imagined that every thing was wanting unleſs the lands were cultivated, and that could not be done properly if huſbandmen were not protected.

protected. The claſs of the Bramins, or Brachmans, of whom we ſhall ſpeak particularly, had the pre-eminence over all the reſt, becauſe they were the maſters of religion and ſcience, and enjoyed all the powers of the prieſthood. This ſeparation of the *Caſtes*, or different ranks of the people, ſtill continues; we have ſeen the unavoidable inconveniences with which it is attended. It is a ſilly prejudice which perſuades people that when children are confined to their father's profeſſion, every art muſt be brought to perfection; whereas the experience both of Egypt and Aſia proves the contrary. Beſides, the *Caſtes* mutually deteſt one another, even from a religious principle; which is an enormous fault in ſociety.

Inconvenience of this practice.

The Indians were in a great meaſure indebted for their renown to the Brachmans, whom we call Bramins. Theſe were as much reſpected as the Perſian magi, or Egyptian prieſts; they were exempted from taxes, conſulted at court, and governed the minds of the people. They were aſtrologers, prophets, philoſophers, and theologians; and their doctrine was ſupported by an auſterity in life, which excited the admiration even of ſtrangers. They ſtood expoſed to the ſcorching ſun, and made their bodies proof againſt the ſevereſt trials; deſpiſing thoſe who die of old age and infirmities, and ordering themſelves to be burnt alive when life became a burden to them; as was done by Calanus, in preſence of Alexander's army. Many of them wore no clothes, and therefore were called *Gymnoſophiſts*.

The ſciences and morals of the Brachmans.

They die voluntarily.

The metempſychoſis was one of the fundamental points of their doctrine; and the perſuaſion that human ſouls paſſed into the bodies of brutes, prevented them from eating any kind of fleſh; a groundleſs opinion, which, however, ſaved the ſpilling the blood of animals, and had likewiſe the additional advantage of checking the human paſſions, either by temperance or through fear; for they imagined that the puniſhment of crimes would be to have their ſouls thruſt into ſome unclean or deteſted animal after death. There are ſuch numbers

Doctrine of the metempſychoſis.

bers of pernicious prejudices in the world, that ſome kind of reſpect is due to thoſe which produce good effects.

Theology of the Brachmans.

According to the teſtimony of Strabo, the Brachmans believed that the world had a beginning, and will have an end; that the Supreme Being was omnipreſent; that in early times the fountains ran with milk, wine, oil, and honey; but man, having abuſed ſuch advantages, was deprived of them by God, who ordered that in future he ſhould gain his bread by his labour. The Vedam, which is the ſacred book of the Brachmans, contains the ſame principles, with a mixture of abſurd fables. It teaches the people to believe in a Supreme Being, who is a pure and perfect ſpirit; that from him proceeded an order of ſpirits, of whom ſome have been degraded by committing ſin; that theſe wicked genii, called *Deoutas*, are baniſhed to a material world, where they are the cauſe of evil; that *Viſtnou* aſſumed a human form, to deliver man from the tyrannical power of the *Deoutas*; that, after a courſe of trials and tranſmigrations, the ſoul is to be reunited to its origin, in order to enjoy eternal happineſs. This is the foundation of the Indian theology, from whence Pythagoras borrowed his principal opinions. Brachma, from whom the Indian prieſts derived their name, is one of the chief genii employed in the government of the world. As to Viſtnou, who was incarnated, he is the ſame whom the Chineſe worſhipped by the name of Foe or Fohi; the Japoneſe by that of Amida, &c. The Indian reveries have penetrated every where, and part of them have been adopted by Plato. Origen attempted to adapt them to the Chriſtian ſyſtem, with which they ſeem at the firſt glance to have a reſemblance; "which diſappears upon a cloſe examination," ſays M. de Bougainville, "but proves, at leaſt, that the Indian religion, "like all others, was originally founded on the primary "truths known to all men, and which make the ſubſtance of the natural revelation, which is as old as the "creation." (*Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcript. tom.* xviii.)

What is taught in the Vedam

Brachma.

Viſtnou.

Theſe

The Indians ignorant of aſtronomy.

Theſe people repreſent the world as a flat ſurface, with a mountain in the middle, round which the ſun, moon, ſtars, and other planets, revolve. Above the planetary ſky they imagine there are ſix others, the happy dwelling, poſſeſſed by ſpirits of the ſecond claſs, either pure or purified. There cannot be a ſtronger proof of ignorance in aſtronomy. The human mind always regales itſelf with fables, before it obſerves nature.

Their genius for invention

The Indians were capable of excelling in the ſciences, if their genius had not been abſorbed in viſionary contemplations. The invention of the game of cheſs, and the Arabian cyphers, is aſcribed to them. Their real antiquity, according to M. Freret, without paying any regard to the fabulous accounts which give them much earlier exiſtence, may be traced back three thouſand one hundred and two years before Jeſus Chriſt. (*Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcript.* ibid.)

The women are induced by ſuperſtition to burn themſelves alive upon the funeral pile of their deceaſed huſbands.

Superſtition alone has been able to eſtabliſh an ancient cuſtom, ſtill ſubſiſting in India, the mention of which is ſufficient to make nature ſhudder. When a man dies, one of his wives has the privilege of being burnt alive upon his funeral pile; and the women, encouraged by the Bramins, who perſuade them that it is a meritorious deed, contend with one another for the prerogative. Is there any thing impoſſible to imaginations, heated by ſuperſtitious madneſs? It transforms the Deity into a tyrant, and is perſuaded that he is honoured by the effuſion of human blood; it can find uncommon ſanctity in an exceſs of madneſs and folly, while true religion breathes only prudence and mildneſs. The cauſe of ſo many evils having overſpread the earth at different times, is, that men have almoſt never conſulted reaſon upon a ſubject of the utmoſt importance.

THE

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SCYTHIANS AND CELTÆ.

Reflections upon the Scythians and Celtæ.

WE ſhall leave to the learned the hiſtory of the Scythians, at preſent the Tartars, and the Celtæ, ancient inhabitants of Gaul, who are called Gomerites, from Gomer, grandſon of Noah. What can be known of a people who poſſeſſed neither learning nor monuments, a nation of wanderers, who lived only upon their flocks and rapine? It will be ſufficient to give the outlines of their character, when hiſtory requires their appearance.

Exceſſive barbariſm of the Scythians.

If we were to judge of the Scythians from the pictures drawn by Horace and Juſtin, their virtues and morals are worthy of being held forth as examples for mankind. But if they were totally ignorant of agriculture, which gives birth to civilization; if, as Herodotus ſays, their daughters could not be married until they had killed a man with their own hands; if they took pleaſure in drinking out of the ſkulls of thoſe whoſe blood they had ſhed; without mentioning the human victims which they offered up to their gods, they were certainly much more deſerving of deteſtation than eſteem. Their morals and government were thoſe of a ſet of robbers, who obſerved certain laws among themſelves, becauſe the principles of natural juſtice are inherent in all men, and neceſſary to form the ties of ſociety. The Scythians, under different appellations, have made ſome of the fineſt countries in the world ſwim in blood. The Celtæ, who, though their manners were at bottom the ſame, were not quite ſo ſavage, became famous in the time of the Romans. If we were to judge from the ſimilarity of manners, cuſtoms, and opinions,

opinions, almoſt all the European nations are of the Celtic race; but that is a matter not worthy of our inquiry. The nearer that men approach to a ſtate of nature, and the leſs their original character is altered or modified by civil inſtitutions, the ſtronger will be the reſemblance; and in this reſpect, a moſt ſtriking conformity may be ſeen between the ancient and modern world.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ASIA.

General Obſervations.

People of Aſia Minor.

TO ſtudy the hiſtory of the ancient nations of Aſia Minor, the Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, Myſians, &c. would be time thrown away, ſince we find them filled with fables, and very little uſeful information. We know that in the time of the Trojan war, which was about twelve centuries before the Chriſtian era, wealth, and the arts of luxury, had already diſtinguiſhed theſe famous countries, which had been enriched by commerce. The Phrygians, in particular, traded with great ſucceſs. What the poets tell us of Midas, Tantalus and Priam, and what Herodotus ſays of the wealth of Crœſus, had ſome foundation in truth; but in ſuch matters, fiction or exaggeration adds to the reality. Homer would not have deſcribed the palace of Priam, nor the oſtentation of the Trojans, with ſuch ſplendour, if there had not been plenty of gold in the country.

The ſubduing of the Aſiatics naturally to be expected.

After the deſcription which has been given of the principal nations of Aſia, this remark will be ſufficient to ſhew, that the Aſiatics in general, debauched by effeminacy, muſt ſooner or later have been ſubjected to a foreign yoke. Their wealth, and the excellence of their climate, were ſtrong temptations to conquerors; golden armour, held in feeble hands, could make but a ſlender defence. Priam complains, in Homer, that his children ſpent the night in feaſting and dancing; and when? even when the enemy were at their gates. Beſides, as the Aſiatics had loſt every idea of liberty,

none

none could be found very anxious for the public good; ſlaves change their maſters without reluctance.

That a ſimplicity of manners ſhould ſubſiſt in courts, amidſt all the pomp and ſplendour of ancient times, is very ſurpriſing. Magnificent dreſs, ſumptuous furniture, perfumes, the multitude of ſlaves, did not prevent people of the higheſt rank from employing themſelves in works looked upon by us as ſervile; of which Homer gives us many examples. The ſons of Priam got ready their father's chariot, harneſſed the mules and horſes, and filled his trunks with their own hands. The women never appeared in public without veils; they worked in their own apartments, and waſhed their clothes in the river. Moſes gives a ſimilar account. The refinements of luxury were not then known, becauſe the arts were not arrived at perfection, and the force of old cuſtoms is only forgotten by inſenſible degrees. This ancient ſimplicity of manners would deſerve a higher encomium, if it had been the effect of reaſon and prudence, rather than of circumſtances; but it was mixed with too great a portion of vice and ignorance, to be entitled to eſteem; of which we may judge even from the hiſtory of the Patriarchs.

The ſimplicity of ancient manners.

This ſimplicity not the effect of virtue.

Aſia was certainly the cradle of the human race, of ſociety, and of the arts and ſciences. What we are about to ſee in Europe, beſides its conformity with our manner of living and thinking, is more intereſting to us from the nature of the objects. All the ſprings of the human mind will be diſplayed to our view in the hiſtory of Greece; and the Roman greatneſs will ſtill farther extend the ſphere of our ideas, views, and ſentiments.

Europe ſuperiour to Aſia.

ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART SECOND.

GRECIAN HISTORY.

General idea of the Grecian hiſtory.

AFTER having travelled over an immenſe extent involved in darkneſs, without any certain path to guide our ſteps, at the name of Greece our ſpirit ſeems to reſt from its labours, and the brilliant period of hiſtory begins to ſhine forth; true heroes, celebrated ſages, immortal geniuſes, the maſter pieces of perfection, appear; and we already have a foretaſte of the pleaſures derived from admiring the wonderful efforts of liberty, and the reſources of policy: but before we can arrive at the object to which we ſteer our courſe, a dreadful barrier preſents itſelf, when we caſt our eyes on the Grecian antiquities; for no people in the world have handed down ſuch a multitude of fables, upon the ſubject of their origin. Every town in this little corner of the world boaſts its gods and demi gods, of whom ſuch extravagances are related, that hiſtory is quite diſfigured

Their fables.

figured by the heap of abſurdities. We ſhall therefore leave ſyſtems and conjectures for the inquiries of the learned, and, without being aſhamed, confeſs that we are ignorant of what we could not attain but at the expenſe of important knowledge; and ſhall ſatisfy our curioſity by making ſome uſeful obſervations on the Greeks of the early ages.

BOOK

BOOK FIRST.

From the FABULOUS TIMES, till the WAR againſt PERSIA.

CHAP. I.

Of the Fabulous and Heroic Times.

The firſt Greeks were ſavages.

THE antiquity of the Greeks is univerſally acknowledged; and they are ſaid to be deſcended from Javan, ſon of Japhet, which is an opinion not worthy of our ſpending time to examine. They were at firſt mere ſavages, without any ideas of reaſon, ſentiment, ſociety, or any thing which could make them to be diſtinguiſhed as men. Their firſt diſcoveries were, the art of building huts, feeding upon acorns, and covering their bodies with the ſkins of animals. So far were they from having the ſmalleſt idea of any kind of government, that they were even ignorant of marriage, and lived like wild beaſts. Such a ſpectacle is exceedingly humiliating for mankind; but it ſhews us what we owe to laws and arts, without which we ſhould have ſtill continued in the ſame ſavage ſtate.

Pauſan. in Arcad.

Foreigners eſtabliſhed in Greece.

About two thouſand years before the Chriſtian era, a colony, perhaps of Egyptians, conquered Greece, and probably introduced the firſt ideas of religion; which has contributed more than any other means to civilize the human race. It is imagined that the famous Titans, Saturn, Jupiter, &c. who were afterwards worſhipped as gods, were the chiefs of that colony. They made no great progreſs, for their ancient manners ſtill ſubſiſted, when ſome new ſtrangers came to ſettle in their country, who collected their wandering families, taught them the comforts of ſocial life, and founded ſome towns, or rather villages, whoſe names at a future period became famous in hiſtory. The kingdoms of

Athens,

Athens, Argos, Sparta, and Thebes, ſprung from the boſom of barbariſm.

Obſtacles to the progreſs of ſociety in Greece.

Different natural revolutions, ſuch as deluges and earthquakes, which ſeem to have detached ſome iſlands in the Egean ſea from the continent, greatly retarded the eſtabliſhment of ſocieties, and the culture of morals, in Greece; and theſe obſtacles were much increaſed by invaſions and perpetual ravages. Attica, which is the country of Athens, being the moſt barren, experienced fewer of theſe misfortunes; and the Athenians boaſted, that they ſprung from the country which they inhabited (*Autochthones*).

Athens founded by Cecrops.

Cecrops, an Egyptian, ſettled there fifteen hundred and eighty two years before our era, and, having married the daughter of King Acteus, ſucceeded to the throne. He founded the city of Athens, which was known at firſt by the name of Cecropia, and civilized theſe ſavage people, by introducing religion among them, and making them ſubmit to the laws of conjugal union, with which they were at that time ſo little acquainted, that the children were known by the name of their mothers. Other laws were eſtabliſhed, and tribunals erected.

He eſtabliſhed the Areopagus.

The Areopagus, which was a court inſtituted for the puniſhment of murderers, is the moſt remarkable monument of Cecrops; no tribunal had ſo high a reputation; the trials were held during the night, in the open air; and the judges were not allowed to hearken to the powers of eloquence, but to decide upon a ſimple expoſition of facts; and, if we may credit Demoſthenes, they never paſſed an unjuſt ſentence.

Danaus and Cadmus introduce the arts into Greece.

Thus foreigners laid the foundation of civilization in Greece. The Egyptian Danaus, who was maſter of the kingdom of Argos, introduced agriculture, and the Egyptian arts, into that country. The Phenician Cadmus ſettled in Bœotia, peopled Thebes, made them acquainted with the culture of the vine, the art of melting and working metals; and, laſtly, taught them the precious foundation of extenſive knowledge, by inſtructing them to write the alphabet.

The

The paſſion of the Greeks for fables.

The Greeks, enamoured of fable, and anxious to derive every thing from the gods, not out of gratitude, but vanity, gave a divine origin to theſe human inventions. Their unintelligible mythology darkened and rendered every thing unnatural, and disfigured the gods whom they had borrowed from the Egyptians and Phenicians, ſo that they could ſcarce be known. But through this obſcurity we ſee the ſtruggles of barbariſm againſt the great benefactors of the human race. Triptolemus, the companion of Ceres, who endeavoured to inſpire them with a paſſion for agriculture, frequently run the riſk of being murdered; and Bacchus was expoſed to the ſame hazard, for procuring them the benefit of the vine; which ſhews, that, in proportion as men are unhappy and ignorant, they are ſtupidly blind to their own intereſts; they reject the greateſt advantages if accompanied with labour, and the moſt ſalutary laws appear intolerably burdenſome; they prefer idleneſs, licentiouſneſs, and all the horrours of a ſavage ſtate, to the infinite advantages which are to be enjoyed in ſociety, becauſe it impoſes laws upon them which they cannot endure, as may be obſerved at this day in many parts of America. All over the world, even among civilized nations, we ſee mankind ſighing after happineſs, while they are rejecting the means by which it may be procured.

They at firſt oppoſed agriculture.

League & council of the Amphyctions.

The Greeks, divided, and under the command of a number of petty kings, always at war with each other, at laſt became ſenſible that they could neither acquire ſtrength nor ſecurity but by forming an union. Amphyction, a little time after Cecrops and Deucalion's deluge, introduced an eſtabliſhment which became a maſter ſtroke in politics. Twelve cities formed a league for their common intereſt, and twice every year ſent deputies to Thermopylæ. Theſe formed the council of the Amphyctions, which became ſo celebrated in the Grecian hiſtory. They were the ultimate judges in the affairs of the confederacy, and quelled rebellions by force of arms. This reſpectable league was confirmed

by

by their regard for religion; and the council were in a particular manner charged to take care of the temple of Delphos, to which people came from all quarters to consult the oracle of Apollo. What effects cannot such a motive have upon superstitious minds? It could not be employed for a better purpose. Temple of Delphos.

The account of the Theban war, the expedition of the Argonauts, and the siege of Troy, must be left to the poets, for here historical facts are drowned in fable; I shall therefore confine myself to making a few observations.

The war of Thebes, where seven kings entered into a confederacy against Eteocles, is a dreadful monument of fraternal hatred. Two brothers contended for the crown, and slew one another, after having deluged their country with a torrent of blood, which in the end proved the destruction of the city. Though the injustice of Eteocles seems to vindicate Polynices, yet all the Ancients looked upon the latter as unworthy of interment, because he had kindled the rage of war in his country; so repugnant are the sentiments of humanity to ambition and personal interest. Theban war.

The expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, about which a thousand conjectures have been hazarded, was an attempt so much the more bold, as the Greeks were but little acquainted with navigation. Exceedingly ignorant of astronomy, they steered their course by the Great Bear, and probably had neither sounding leads nor anchors. Their ships or barks were easily dragged along the shore; however, if we may believe Eustathius, the famous commentator on Homer, the commerce of the Euxine, or Black Sea, was the great object of their expedition. Supposing this to be the case, it is matter of astonishment, with what slender means they hazarded so great an undertaking. Expedition of the Argonauts.

What they performed a few years after in Asia, makes a most remarkable epocha in history. The whole Grecian states united to revenge an affront offered to a single Greek; and neither the power of Troy, nor the wealth The Trojan war.

wealth of King Priam, could overcome this confederacy. The Aſiatic power was compelled, for the firſt time, to ſubmit to European valour; and the fate of Paris will inform princes, that the yielding to an unworthy paſſion may prove the ruin of their country. The taking of Troy is commonly believed to have happened eleven hundred and eighty four years before Chriſt; but according to the chronology of the Arundel marbles, which were found at Paros, it happened in the twelve hundred and ninth year. Theſe ancient marbles fix the different epochas down from Cecrops to the time of Philip, and we have not a more certain guide in ancient chronology; yet they were engraved only two hundred and ſixty four years before the Chriſtian era.

The taking of Troy 1209 years before Chriſt according to the Arundel marbles.

The Trojan war was as injurious to the intereſt of the country, as it was truly glorious to the Greeks who were engaged in the expedition, by reaſon of the diſorders occaſioned by the long abſence of their kings, and the enterpriſes of robbers and pirates, who ſeized the opportunity of committing depredations upon the people; but about four ſcore years after, they experienced much more fatal misfortunes. Hercules had been excluded from the crown of Mycenæ, notwithſtanding his famous exploits; and the Heraclidæ, his deſcendants, being perſecuted, were obliged to quit Greece, but returned in arms, when the country, torn in pieces and dejected, was ready to fall a prey to ſuperiour force: Argos, Sparta and Mycenæ were ſubdued, and terrour ſpread on all ſides, which made ſeveral colonies croſs the ſea, to ſettle in the iſlands, and on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, of whom the Ionians, Eolians and Dorians are the moſt celebrated. Minos, king of Crete, whom the poets have made judge of Hell, had for a long time alledged that he was inſpired with a new ſyſtem of laws; which he deſired to eſtabliſh; but if we are to judge from humanity, theſe laws, though Lycurgus took them for his model, appear little entitled to be thought of miraculous origin, for they related chiefly to war, and never prevented diſturbances or civil diſcord. From a

Misfortunes which followed the taking of Troy.

The Heraclidæ.

Aſiatic colonies.

The laws of Minos, king of Crete.

body

body of turbulent citizens, Minos formed gallant warriors. He did not allow young people to queſtion the rectitude of the principles they were taught; which was highly approved by Plato, but could not fail to rivet prejudice and errour, along with ſound principles. Cannot reſpect for the laws go hand in hand with common ſenſe? Celibacy was forbidden in Crete; and we are aſſured, contrary to all probability, that this legiſlator permitted unnatural crimes, that fathers might not be burdened with too many children; for which alone he moſt richly deſerved another place in the infernal regions.

CHAP. II.

Barbariſm of the Heroic Ages; Superſtitions, &c.

The heroic ages were barbarous.

WE may depend upon the authority of the great painter of ancient manners, that the heroic ages were times of barbariſm. In this reſpect, we find Homer an excellent hiſtorian, and we may ſelect much intereſting knowledge even from his fables.

Power of their kings very limited.

Thoſe kings, who have been thought ſo powerful, had very little authority over their ſubjects. They deliberated in a ſelect council, and the deciſion was either approved or rejected in a general aſſembly. The prerogative of the prince was to give the firſt vote, to hear complaints, to judge of diſputes, and to command the troops; to which may be added, their preſiding in religious matters. Erectheus, king of Athens, was the firſt who ſeparated the offices of prieſt and king, which he did in favour of his brother Butes; but we do not find that his example was followed. In one word, the Grecian government was like that of almoſt all barbarous nations; they were directed rather by eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, than the authority of their chiefs, to whom they were but very little ſubjected.

They preſided in religious matters.

War was the principal employment of the Greeks, who were ignorant of the law of nations, which is ſo neceſſary

The Greeks were ignorant of the law of nations. Idea of this law.

neceſſary to ſoften and reſtrain its horrours. This law, which is founded upon the firſt principles of nature and morality, is at bottom the law of humanity; to which muſt be added, the mutual agreements entered into by different nations. The reciprocal duties of nations are the ſame with thoſe of individuals. Self-preſervation makes it lawful for a man to uſe violence; but he who kills another, without being firſt attacked, or he who ſeizes another perſon's property by force, is a robber, and aſſaſſin, deſerving execration and public puniſhment. In the ſame manner, every unjuſt war is an offence proportionably heinous, as it occaſions more robberies and murders; and all wars are unjuſt when undertaken to give vent to the paſſions, or when they exceed the bounds of natural equity. Senſible minds can never hear that expreſſion, *the right of the ſtrongeſt*, but with horrour; an expreſſion which muſt have been derived from the language of the Cannibals: however, ſuch was the right of the Greeks.

What they called virtue.

It is a matter of doubt, whether the Greeks had any general idea of virtue, becauſe their word, αρετη, which expreſſes it, had no other ſignification, in the firſt ages, but bravery. It muſt be allowed, that in a ſtate of war, and perpetual invaſions, bravery might make up for the want of other virtues. Fierce in combat, and equally ſo after victory, they treated their priſoners as victims deſtined to cruelty; and the women, even princeſſes, were reduced to ſlavery, and experienced ſufferings infinitely worſe than death: we muſt therefore have a dreadful idea of the repriſals. How many ages paſſed, before men became ſenſible how much it was for their own advantage to do good to their fellow creatures, or as little harm as poſſible, when unfortunately compelled to hurt them!

Ferocity in war. Cruelty to priſoners.

Their ignorance of the art of war, proved by the ſiege of Troy.

The heroes, the great captains, mentioned in Homer, were ſo ignorant of the art of war, that the ſiege of Troy bore no reſemblance to a ſiege. Their camp was at a conſiderable diſtance from the town, and an open plain between ſerved for the field of battle; no lines of circumvallation,

cumvallation, no attacks, no ſcaling of walls, nor any warlike machines, were to be ſeen. Bodily ſtrength accompliſhed every thing in their combats; and no ſkill was ſhown but in darting their javelins; for the firſt ſtroke of the ſword commonly decided the fate of the warriors. Their chariots frequently made the conductors of no uſe in the field, and, in a thouſand rencounters, only ſerved to embarraſs the combatants; yet they were their only cavalry. In a word, the great art with them was to lay a ſnare, form an ambuſcade, or ſurpriſe a party. Their principal object was pillage; for their booty ſerved them for pay, and was ſhared between the chiefs and the ſoldiers. This is another inſtance of the reſemblance of their manners to thoſe of the Germans.

The number of the Grecian fleet.

The Grecian fleet, at the ſiege of Troy, conſiſted of twelve hundred veſſels; but the largeſt of them, according to Homer, carried only a hundred and twenty men. There was no iron employed in their conſtruction, and the uſe of the ſaw was unknown; therefore they may be compared to the canoes of the Indian ſavages.

The ancient Greeks knew nothing of aſtronomy.

We may form ſome idea of the navigation of the Greeks, from their exceſſive ignorance of aſtronomy. For a long time their year conſiſted of only three, four, or ſix months. They knew very few of the conſtellations, and not one of the planets, but Venus; yet they believed, till the time of Pythagoras, that the Venus of the morning was not the Venus of the evening. Certainly thoſe Egyptians and Phenicians who ſettled in Greece, did not carry the ſciences of their country along with them; but if they had, it is impoſſible that they could flouriſh in theſe diſtricts, which were torn in pieces by war and diſcord. Learning, and the arts, have commonly proſpered in the boſom of peace and tranquillity; and from that cauſe, the Greeks of Aſia Minor were the firſt who poſſeſſed the double advantage, of being happy and well inſtructed. About three hundred years after the Trojan war, that country was rendered famous by giving birth to Homer; whoſe two epic poems, notwithſtanding their faults, which a kind of literary

Science could not be cultivated but at a late period.

Homer was of Aſia Minor.

literary fanaticiſm has fruitleſsly endeavoured to palliate, are prodigies of genius, and ſources of much excellent inſtruction. Independent of the ſublimity of the poetry, the deſcriptions are ſo accurate, that they muſt be highly pleaſing to all who have a deſire to be acquainted with ancient manners.

Ruſticity of the heroic manners.

His deſcriptions of the Grecian feſtivals plainly ſhew the ruſticity of their manners. Even the kings knocked down a bull, or cut the throat of a ram, with their own hands, flayed them, and cut them in pieces; and, being unacquainted with roaſting, had them broiled. Agamemnon ſerved up the chine of an ox to Ajax. At their meals, they were voracious and ſlovenly. Let us not be ſurpriſed at the foul language with which they publicly abuſed one another when in a paſſion; even their gods were almoſt as barbarous, and as little maſters of their temper.

Laws in favour of agriculture.

By ſome ancient laws, which were aſcribed to Triptolemus, they were prohibited from injuring animals, and they could only make offerings of the fruits of the earth to the gods; but ſuperſtition aboliſhed theſe regulations, which were ſo favourable to agriculture. Cecrops, in like manner, forbid the ſacrificing of animals. The firſt legiſlators were much attached to agriculture, being juſtly perſuaded that it muſt civilize the people, and therefore limited the quantity of land which every one could poſſeſs; prohibited them from alienating the inheritance of their anceſtors, and from mortgaging lands in tillage. They ſhewed an equal attention to marriage, and puniſhed adultery, by making the guilty perſon pay a fine to the huſband who could prove the offence, and the father of the diſloyal woman reſtored to his ſon in law all the preſents which he had received before marriage. Though the eldeſt enjoyed particular privileges, yet the ſucceſſion was ſhared among the children by lot. Murder was puniſhed with death, but they had no public officers for diſcovering the murderers; they remained at liberty during the trial, and pleaded in oppoſition to the relations of the deceaſed,

Other laws.

who

who were the profecutors. The murderer might fly, or make his peace with the friends of the perfon murdered; every crime might be remitted for a fum of money. Such has been the jurifprudence of almoft all barbarous nations, and in particular that of the Germans.

Eleufinian myfteries much celebrated.

If we may believe ancient authors, the myfteries of Eleufis, a town near Athens, which were inftituted in honour of Ceres, or, according to the fabulous traditions, by herfelf, were an admirable method of foftening the manners of the people, and infpiring them with wifdom. "Among many other advantages which we have "derived from Athens," faid Cicero, "this is the "greateft; for it has not only taught us to live cheer-"fully, but to die in peace, in the hope of a more hap-"py futurity." *(De leg.* 2.) There is reafon to fuppofe that thefe myfteries, like the Egyptian, concealed from the eyes of the vulgar a doctrine which was fuperiour to the common fuperftitions, chiefly declaring the unity of God and a future ftate; but the inviolable fecrefy in which they were enveloped, very reafonably infufes diftruft. If they contained nothing but what was noble, true, and ufeful, wherefore be afraid of the light? "Cato was furprifed that one foothfayer could "look in the face of another without laughing. May "not the fame thing be faid of two people initiated in "thefe myfteries?" This reflection of M. de Bougainville will appear ftill more juft, if we confider that the Eleufinian myfteries were inftituted in the days of barbarifm. *(Vid. Mem. de l'Acad. des Infcript. tom.* xxi.) However, it muft be owned, that philofophers might be afraid of the infpection of a people who were fuperftitious to a degree of fanaticifm.

Secrefy a reafon for their being doubted.

Oracles derived from impofture and fuperftition

Oracles were blindly credited at that time; nothing was done without conſulting them, and the awkward artifices of the prieſts and prieſteſſes impoſed upon every body. Oracles and judicial aſtrology may be placed on a level; they were both the fruit of intereſted knavery and fooliſh ſuperſtition. Whatever wonders have been related, an unprejudiced mind can give no credit to them

them after the ſlighteſt examination. He will ſee equivocal anſwers artfully expreſſed, as if the Deity was afraid leſt the event ſhould give him the lie. He will find impoſtures proved; and there needs but one inſtance to give room for ſuſpecting many more. Oracles and divination are to be ſeen among the ſavages and all ignorant nations, which is an evident proof that they originate in the weakneſs of the human mind. If the many millions of falſe predictions had been preſerved along with the few which chance has verified, there never could have been a ſerious queſtion about a ſubject which muſt be ſeen through at the firſt glance, if we will conſult common ſenſe inſtead of authorities.

The mythology of the Greeks inexplicable.

The extravagances of the religion, or mythology, of the Greeks, are ſufficiently known; and attempts are made to explain them by ſyſtems and allegories; but it is like endeavouring to find a meaning for the dreams of a man in the delirium of a fever. The nation received the gods which had been brought among them by ſtrangers, to which they added ſome of their own creation; ignorance, and a paſſion for the marvellous, gave weight to all kinds of fables, and ſome minds were to be found naturally diſpoſed to believe even the moſt abſurd; undoubtedly the poets followed the vulgar traditions. Homer, and his cotemporary Heſiod, have with very good reaſon been called the theologians of the people. Though their Jupiter is ſuperiour to the other deities, and Heſiod in his Theogony admits a chaos, from whence the world was produced by a ſupreme power, yet the primitive truths diſappear in their works, like a drop of water in the ocean. It was reſerved for the philoſophers, if they could not eſtabliſh the truth, at leaſt to cry down errour. It is alledged that Orpheus taught a ſublime theology before the Trojan war, and ſome excellent poems upon the Deity are aſcribed to him. Proclus quotes the following paſſage: *Every thing that exiſts, whatever hath been, or ſhall be, was originally contained in the fruitful boſom of Jupiter. Jupiter is the firſt and the laſt, the beginning and the end; from him*

The theology of Homer and Heſiod full of popular abſurdities.

Sublime theology falſely aſcribed to Orpheus.

alt

all beings are derived, &c. The poet of the Argonauts is transformed into Plato. But proofs of such a prodigy are wanting, and every thing conspires to shew the contrary.

The Greek religion taught one thing truly excellent, the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments. This doctrine of immortality is so noble in itself, and so salutary in its consequences, that it is sufficient to efface a multitude of errours in religious matters. Unfortunately the Elysium and Tartarus of the ancients were painted in ridiculous colours; and it is naturally to be expected, that by learning to despise the falsehoods which were introduced into the fable, the truth blended with it may likewise sooner or later become contemptible. The Greeks believed in a future state.

We cannot conclude this article, without taking notice of the Grecian games, which, in their origin, were respectable institutions, but, like all other establishments whose utility depends upon certain circumstances, degenerated into abuse. These games, by encouraging running, boxing, wrestling, and other bodily exercises, formed men for war, inspired them with that noble emulation which, from a motive of glory alone, bids defiance to fatigue and danger: they reconciled the Greeks who were at variance, and produced those sentiments of concord in their souls, which alone could make them happy. At that time all hostilities ceased, they partook of the same pleasures, they lived like men of one nation, and tasted all the comforts of a peaceful union; so that it must be strange if they could wish it to be disturbed. Yet afterwards, these games were one of the greatest evils which befel Greece, at the time when the *Athletæ* formed a distinct profession, excessively burdensome to the public, by the immense expense which they required; and a relish for public exhibitions became such an unbridled passion, as to stifle every patriotic idea. Even in the time of Solon, the victorious *Athletæ* enjoyed considerable pensions, which he thought it necessary to reduce. The evil had increased daily, Utility of the Grecian games. The abuses which were the consequence of these games.

daily, from the time that Pericles, as we ſhall ſee, ſacrificed the public good to the amuſements of the people.

Olympic games.

The Olympic games, which were the moſt famous of all, were ſaid to be eſtabliſhed by Pelops at Olympia in Peloponneſus, and were reſtored eight hundred and eighty four years before our era, and from that time were celebrated every four years. The Olympiads, or intervals of four years from the one feſtival to the other, marked the chronological order of facts, the firſt beginning ſeven hundred and ſeventy ſix years before Chriſt.

Olympiads.

It is now time to proceed to the hiſtorical ages, where we ſhall ſee liberty and laws paving the way for the appearance of thoſe great men of whom Greece had reaſon to be proud, inſtead of her fabulous divinities and barbarous heroes. We ſhall profit nothing by acquiring a knowledge of all the little ſtates in that ſmall country. Sparta and Athens demand our whole attention.

CHAP. III.

Of the Government, Legiſlation and Manners of Sparta.

Revolution in Greece.

THE Greeks being naturally turbulent, provoked by miſery and oppreſſion, tired of obeying, as their kings had rendered themſelves unworthy of governing, ſome of them ſhook off the yoke, and their example was ſo generally followed, that an almoſt total revolution changed the face of the country. The ancient kingdoms having become republics, new plans of government were introduced, which ſtill retained a tincture of barbariſm; but the whole being ſet in agitation by a ſpirit of liberty, the people only waited the appearance of geniuſes capable of conducting them, in order to diſplay prodigies of heroiſm.

Eſtabliſhment of republics.

State of Sparta before Lycurgus.

Sparta, or Lacedemon, was deſtined to ſet the example, though ſhe retained her kings from a reſpect to their origin. For about nine hundred years from the time that Peloponneſus had been retaken by the Heraclidæ,

tlidæ, two princes of that race always jointly occupied the throne. This divided royalty, a ſource of perpetual diſſenſions, tore in pieces a kingdom which was unprovided with wholeſome laws, till Lycurgus at laſt appeared for the glory and happineſs of his country.

Before J. C. 898. Lycurgus refuſes the throne

He was the ſon of Eunomus, king of Sparta, who was killed in an inſurrection. After the death of his eldeſt brother Polydectes, who had no children, but left his widow pregnant, he aſcended the throne, in which he might eaſily have ſupported himſelf, as this amorous princeſs made him an offer of her hand, and promiſed, if he would accept it, to procure an abortion. Lycurgus looked upon the propoſal with horrour; however, he gained time by diſſembling, till the queen was delivered of a young prince, whom he acknowledged, and, taking all poſſible care of him, governed in quality of his tutor.

His travels and his return

This generous action, however, did not ſecure him from all ſuſpicion; he therefore retired, and travelled into Crete and Ionia, and perhaps even into Egypt, to ſtudy the laws and cuſtoms of other countries. The Spartans lamented his retreat, as diſturbances increaſed greatly during his abſence; and the two kings joined the voice of the people in begging him earneſtly to return. He therefore came back; and being convinced that neither a bad conſtitution nor licentious people could be reformed by particular laws, he determined to cut to the quick, and at once introduce an entire new ſyſtem. Such an undertaking required both courage and prudence; and, following the example of Minos, whom he propoſed for his model, he made an oracle declare in his favour, that the people might think he was inſpired. This was an important ſtep; but human aid was likewiſe neceſſary; and as perſuaſion alone was not ſufficient, he reſolved to ſtrike with terrour; he therefore cauſed the principal citizens, who approved his plan of reformation, to appear under arms; ſo that, in the moment of execution, there was none that dared to reſiſt.

A mixed government conſiſting of three powers.

Lycurgus, without baniſhing royalty, which was ſhared by the two branches of the family of the Heraclidæ, created a mixed government, where three powers mutually balanced each other. He ſcarcely left any thing to the kings but the command of the armies, and the reſpect which was attached to the throne. He eſtabliſhed a ſenate, conſiſting of twenty eight members beſide the two kings, to counterbalance the influence of the princes and people; ſo that the royal authority might not degenerate into tyranny, nor popular liberty into rebellion. The duty of the ſenate was to examine and propoſe the buſineſs of the ſtate, which the people had a right to approve or reject, and, of courſe, were maſters of the legiſlative power; but what gave the ſenators an eminent advantage, was their continuing for life.

Eſtabliſhment of the Ephori 130 years after Lycurgus.

Though Herodotus and Xenophon aſcribe the eſtabliſhment of the Ephori to Lycurgus, which is contrary to the opinion of Ariſtotle and Plutarch, yet that eſtabliſhment is placed about an hundred and thirty years after the time of the legiſlator. King Theopompus contrived this method of keeping the ſenate in awe. Five magiſtrates were choſen by the people annually, under the name of Ephori, with a power to caſhier, impriſon, or even put to death, any of the ſenators. Their formidable authority even extended to the kings, whom they might arreſt and ſuſpend from their office, till an oracle gave orders for their being replaced. It is ſaid, that when the wife of Theopompus reproached him for having leſſened the royal power, he replied, *On the contrary I have made it ſtronger, for it will be more laſting!* But experience proves, that if the government was not overturned by the Ephori, it was owing to Lycurgus having compoſed his work with ſolidity; their power, leaning to deſpotiſm, was contrary to a republican ſpirit.

Lycurgus called in morals in ſupport of the laws.

Lycurgus was ſenſible of the frailty and imbecility of laws unaccompanied with good morals; he therefore united them, that they might mutually ſupport one another. His intention, according to Plutarch, was to

make

make a ſingle family of the Lacedemonian ſtate, where the whole people, collected like bees, ſhould be employed for the general good of their country.* This would have been chimerical in a large kingdom; but Lycurgus realized an idea, which was ſo greatly ſuperiour to the common views of politicians.

He baniſhed poverty and riches.

To baniſh both poverty and riches, two fatal ſources of corruption, all property was held in common, and the lands were equally divided. Inſtead of gold and ſilver money, he ſubſtituted iron, which was exceſſively unwieldy, and could be of no value out of Sparta. He prohibited all the arts which contributed to pleaſure and luxury, ordering that the floors of their houſes ſhould be made only with the hatchet, and the doors with a ſaw. In a word, he deſtroyed the cauſes of inequality in civil life, and, by making riches contemptible, or rather annihilating them, he found means, in the midſt of general poverty, to prevent any individual from being really in want. In ſuch a ſtate, ſelfiſhneſs, fraud, injuſtice, voluptuouſneſs and effeminacy muſt periſh for want of nouriſhment.

Public tables.

The being obliged to eat at public tables, which were exceſſively frugal, preſerved that equality and harmony, of which the legiſlator knew the great importance; and there they received conſtant leſſons of reaſon as well as ſobriety, by diſcourſing upon uſeful ſubjects; when a delicate raillery was employed to correct errours, but never exerciſed except with prudence, and inſtantly deſiſted from, when any one gave ſigns of being hurt by it. Genuine virtue was more efficacious than our deceitful politeneſs.

The children educated for the republic.

But, above all things, Lycurgus deſired that the men ſhould be formed to his wiſhes by a proper education; therefore made it one of the principal objects of his care, and the ſucceſs fully anſwered his expectations. The children, as being the property of the ſtate, were bred

* There were only nine thouſand inhabitants reckoned in the city, and thirty thouſand in the country. The firſt were properly Spartans, and the others Lacedemonians.

bred up for the ſtate. The nurſes did not bind them tight in ſwaddling clothes, which made them ſtrong, and well ſhaped; they taught them not to be afraid in the dark, and never to complain but from neceſſity. At ſeven years of age, they were given up to the public maſters, who bred them all to the ſame habits, as they were all to diſcharge the ſame duties; they were accuſtomed to bear pain and fatigue, and to pay the moſt ready obedience. Thoſe of them who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, commanded the reſt, but always in preſence of the elders, who were conſtantly attentive to reprove and correct them. No action was looked upon as indifferent; even their plays were exerciſes of virtue and courage. Every old man looked upon himſelf as the father of all the youth; and the youth found a cenſor in every old man, whoſe advice, authority and wiſdom were to be reſpected.

Authority of the elders.

If the children were obliged to ſteal their food, which is a cuſtom cenſured by many writers, there was no appearance of theft in the caſe, for they took nothing but what was given up to them by the laws. The intention of this inſtitution was, to habituate them early to the ſtratagems of war, to danger and vigilance. When they ſuffered themſelves to be diſcovered, they were ſeverely chaſtiſed. They could not become thieves, becauſe they had no motive to ſteal; but they became bold and expert, becauſe they were compelled to it. The Spartan manners juſtified the practice; otherwiſe it muſt have been a folly, or a dangerous vice.

The reaſon for obliging the children to ſteal their food.

While the body was hardened by labour, the powers of the mind were cultivated at the ſame time; not by fruitleſs or tireſome ſtudies, but by a conſtant habit of judging and reaſoning. The children were admitted to the public repaſts, where they conſtantly heard converſations, which afforded them moſt excellent inſtruction. They were frequently interrogated upon points of morality and politics; and their opinions were aſked about particular actions and particular men, to which they were required to give immediate anſwers, in few words,

The method of exerciſing their reaſon.

and

and in a judicious manner: from thence proceeded that quick penetration, that correct way of thinking, that nervous *laconiſm*, and thoſe fine ſayings, for which the Spartans were famous. The energy of ther ſtyle ſhews the ſtrength of their minds; and their example proves, that evey thing may be accompliſhed by perſeverance.

The women had their exerciſes as well as the men.

Lycurgus extended his views ſtill farther, and, if we may uſe the expreſſion, changed the women into men, that feeble mothers might not tranſmit weakly conſtitutions to their children. He made the women perform manly exerciſes, to render their bodies robuſt and healthy. He has been violently cenſured, for introducing cuſtoms which were repugnant to modeſty; and more particularly for making the girls appear naked at the games, when they wreſtled or danced in public; yet, upon thoſe occaſions, they rouſed the young men to virtue, ſometimes ſpurring them on by praiſe, at other times by raillery. Plutarch apologizes for this cuſtom, and likewiſe for that of lending their wives to other men, that children of a more robuſt conſtitution and greater hopes might be reared for the ſtate. Modeſty was preſerved, for a conſiderable time, by the influence of the laws. Some perſon aſking a Spartan what puniſhment was inflicted upon adulterers, he replied, *How can there be an adulterer in Sparta?* But debauchery having at laſt penetrated into the boſom of the republic, the cuſtoms juſtified by ancient virtue became an inveterate poiſon. The Spartan women were reckoned a diſgrace to their ſex through all Greece, and Ariſtotle imputes thoſe diſorders which ruined the ſtate to their having loſt all regard for decency.

The power which the women had over the men.

While theſe women were proof againſt deſires, the influence which they had over the other ſex could not fail to be uſeful, for they were inſpired with an heroic ſpirit, which they communicated by their conduct. Said a ſtranger to the wife of Leonidas, *You are the only women who govern the men.*—*Yes*, ſaid ſhe, *and we are the only women who are the mothers of men.* But with ſuch an aſcendency, if the women once came to be corrupted,

rupted, to which they were too much expoſed in Sparta, the ſtate of courſe muſt be ruined.

Laws for young huſbands.

However, Lycurgus had regulated the commerce between the two ſexes by ſevere laws, for a young huſband could not even ſee his wife but by ſtealth; ſo that, far from being corrupted, or rendered effeminate by love, it proved only an incentive to their duty.

Celibacy deſpiſed.

Celibacy was held in contempt, and deprived of the honours and attentions which were paid to old age. A young man ſcorned to riſe up at the approach of an illuſtrious commander, becauſe he had never been married: *You have no children*, ſaid he, *who may one day ſhew me the ſame reſpect, and riſe up at my approach.*

The Spartans falſely accuſed of idleneſs

All ſpeculative ſciences and mechanical arts were prohibited; and in time of peace, the citizens ſpent their lives in hunting and other exerciſes, or in uſeful converſations. Was this an idle life, as ſome writers aſſert? Undoubtedly it was not; ſince no people ever exerted themſelves more zealouſly for the public good; but to find ſerious employment in their halls, where they were only engaged in converſation, it was neceſſary to be a Spartan. Yet men who thirſted after knowledge could not want intereſting ſubjects; for, in a free and virtuous ſtate, the affairs of the public become the concern of every individual.

Spartan philoſophy.

The charge of ruſtic ignorance muſt appear equally unjuſt, when we reflect upon the attention which the Spartans ſhewed to the cultivation of their reaſon. In proportion as they diſdained the arts of ſophiſtry and oratory, they ſtudied to think and ſpeak properly, and attended to that kind of philoſophy, which, without being either ſubtile or verboſe, forms the judgment and corrects the morals; for to ſpeak like a Lacedemonian, and to philoſophize, were reckoned the ſame thing. The Spartans loved poetry as a means of kindling the ſoul to virtue, and animating them with a deſire of performing noble actions; we cannot but approve of the following ſong, preſerved to us by Plutarch,

CHORUS

CHORUS OF OLD MEN.

We have been young, though now grown old,
Hardy in field, in battle bold.

CHORUS OF YOUNG MEN.

We are ſo now: let who dares try,
We'll conquer, or in combat die.

CHORUS OF CHILDREN.

Whatever ye can do or tell,
We one day will you both excel.

Lycurgus's plan was excellent, conſidering the circumſtances.

To judge of the plan adopted by Lycurgus, we muſt look back to the age in which he lived, when he ſaw his country in the midſt of the diſturbances of Greece, in itſelf naturally weak; and agitated by faction, filled with diſorders, and expoſed to the attacks of its neighbours. His deſire was to form a warlike, invincible republic, proof againſt the evils which corruption produces at home, and from thoſe to which it is expoſed by aſſaults from abroad. A moſt excellent deſign, and better executed than any other plan of legiſlation. He did not commit his laws to writing, becauſe he intended that they ſhould be impreſſed upon the hearts of the people by education. Whatever was not eſſential, and depended upon circumſtances, he thought might be truſted to the prudence of the citizens, when they had once imbibed good principles; and at laſt ſucceeded in rendering a government durable, which was founded upon auſterity of manners. If he excluded ſtrangers who brought nothing uſeful to the ſtate, it was not, as Thucydides ſuppoſes, leſt they ſhould imitate the Spartan virtues, but from a dread that the latter might be contaminated by foreign vices. His ξενελασια, that law againſt admitting ſtrangers, excluded no deſerving man, nor any talent worthy of being received in Lacedemon, but was only a barrier ſet up againſt contagion; and it muſt be allowed that it was perfectly conſonant with his principal intention.

His laws not written.

Xenelaſia, or excluſion of ſtrangers.

According

Spartan courage.

According to the views of the legiſlator, the Spartans always lived as in camp; and when they marched to attack an enemy, it was not only with perfect compoſure, but an alacrity which nothing could diſturb, as if they were led on by a Divinity. Lycurgus was too well acquainted with the human heart, not to be apprehenſive that this courage would generate ambition; he therefore endeavoured to extirpate the ſeeds of that paſſion, from a perſuaſion that Sparta could not be truly happy, but by being ſatisfied with liberty and poverty; and repelling its enemies, without a deſire either for dominion or conqueſt. He commanded them to carry on no war but in ſelf-defence; not to purſue a vanquiſhed enemy, or carry off their ſpoils; and to keep no fleet, leſt they ſhould be tempted to range the ſeas.

Lycurgus wiſhed to prevent ambition.

The laſting effects of the laws of Lycurgus.

An evident proof of the wiſdom of theſe regulations, in general, is the laſting effect which they produced. The paſſions, which were kept in ſubjection by their manners, except perhaps the ambition of leading the army, remained ſubmiſſive to the laws for the ſpace of five hundred years. Sparta obtained the eſteem and confidence, and was a long time the arbiter, of Greece, becauſe of her ſuperiour merit; but time, which changes all things, at laſt undermined and deſtroyed that noble ſtructure; however, its duration muſt appear aſtoniſhing to every one who will attend to the propenſities of human nature.

Spartan inflexibility ſometimes barbarous.

I am far from ſaying, that the manners of the Spartans were a perfect model: praiſe as well as cenſure may be carried too great a length; and while we extol an imaginary perfection, we rob genuine virtue of her ſweeteſt charms. Spartan auſterity, carried to exceſs, preſents to our view ſome objects which are ſhocking to humanity. It ſtifled pity and the natural affections; thoſe valuable ſentiments, which it would be dreadful not to be able to conciliate with the duties of a citizen.

They put to death weakly children.

It was horrid barbarity made them put to death children who were weakly, or of a delicate complexion, that they might have none but what were proper for making good ſoldiers;

ſoldiers; eſpecially as the habit might be ſtrengthened, and military talents make up for the weakneſs of the body.* It was another inſtance of unfeeling cruelty, that, in order to accuſtom their children to endure pain, they ſcourged them, ſometimes even to death, at the altar of Diana, without their daring to utter a complaint. Mothers prided themſelves on receiving without emotion, nay even with tranſports of joy, the news of their ſons having died nobly in the field of battle; as if love of country ought to extinguiſh maternal tenderneſs. Such exceſſes gave a ſavage fierceneſs to the Spartan character, which frequently led them to commit acts of cruelty.

Children cruelly treated.

Mothers were too inſenſible

It is impoſſible to read the account of their inhuman behaviour to the Ilotes, or Helotes, without horrour. Theſe were a neighbouring people, whom they had reduced to ſlavery, and employed in agriculture and mechanical labours, treating them more like beaſts than men. They not only intoxicated them, that they might inſpire their children with a deteſtation of drunkenneſs and intemperance, but likewiſe ſent their youth ſometimes to lie in ambuſh to murder them. They put to death every Helot, who was diſtinguiſhed either for his ſize or mien, as an enemy of the Spartan nation. Such barbarities could not be imputed to Lycurgus; they began probably, ſays Plutarch, after the ſlaves had rebelled againſt their maſters. But are they therefore leſs deteſtable? Let us not examine whether ſlavery is compatible with the law of nature, except in caſes where the conquered cannot be reſtored to liberty without the conquerors being expoſed to imminent danger. Let us not examine by what title the liberty of a man may be ſold, or how he can loſe it at his birth, though attached to his nature; the ancient practice of nations will find it difficult to ſupport the inquiry. At leaſt, let us boldly ſay, that a ſlave does not ceaſe to be a man; that his ſervices

Cruelty to the Helotes.

The rights of ſlaves.

* They wiſhed to have their kings of good ſtature. The Ephori, according to Theophraſtus, condemned Archidamus to pay a fine for having married a very little woman. *She will not give us kings*, ſaid they, *but kinglings*.

ſervices entitle him ſtill more to the rights of humanity; and to oppreſs him, without juſt cauſe, is to afford him pretences for taking arms againſt his oppreſſors.

The Spartans deſerve great praiſe, notwithſtanding their faults.

If the Spartans had tempered their auſtere virtues with gentleneſs, or if they had poſſeſſed the firſt of all virtues, humanity, they would have been entitled to higher encomiums; but their contempt of riches, their love of glory and of their country, their obedience to the laws, and their heroic courage, have ranked them above all other nations. An infinite number of excellences mark their character. They had in general that greatneſs of ſoul, which made Pedaretus rejoice when he was rejected from being one of the council of three hundred, and ſay, *that he was happy Sparta had found three hundred citizens better than himſelf.*

Story of Pedaretus

Leſs ſuperſtition than among other nations.

There was much leſs ſuperſtition among them than the generality of other nations; and their worſhip ſhewed the ſuperiority of their judgment. All the ſtatues of their deities, even that of Venus, were clothed in armour; that religion might go hand in hand with politics. Their ſacrifices and offerings were of little value; that an uſeleſs expenſe might not make them loſe a reliſh for piety. Long prayers were forbidden; they only aſked of the gods to favour the deſerving; a prayer which Socrates held in higher eſtimation than all the offerings and ceremonies of his country. Their buryings, like every thing elſe in Sparta, were without pomp, and conduced to inſpire them with a contempt of death. Thus all their religious acts ſeemed to be directed by a practical philoſophy.

The reaſon of a temple conſecrated to *Fear*.

There was a temple conſecrated to *Fear*, near the place where the Ephori aſſembled; becauſe the Spartans looked upon fear as an eſſential ſpring of government; for, according to the opinion of Plutarch, *the moſt timid with reſpect to the laws, are the moſt courageous againſt the enemy; and they who fear the leaſt to ſuffer, have the greateſt dread of being cenſured*; and of this the Spartans are a proof.

This

This famous republic, which preſided a long time over the affairs of Greece, was eſtabliſhed about nine hundred years before the Chriſtian era. Lycurgus found great obſtacles; but he ſurmounted them all, by dint of genius and patience. It is ſaid, that to preſerve his ſtatutes inviolable, he went to conſult the oracle of Delphos; but before he ſet out he made the Spartans ſwear to obſerve them faithfully till his return; the oracle confirmed his laws, and declared, that by obeying them Sparta would become the moſt famous city in the world. He then ſtarved himſelf to death, that the Spartans might not be freed from their oath. The circumſtances of his death are uncertain; and the marvellous, which is always to be ſuſpected, cannot heighten the glory of great men, but on the contrary ſpreads a cloud over their merits.

Precaution of Lycurgus to have his laws obſerved.

From the time of Lycurgus to the invaſion of the Perſians, the hiſtory of Sparta preſents us with very few objects which are intereſting, or can be authenticated. The Meſſenians, their neighbours, having engaged in two wars againſt this ſtate, loſt Ithome, and ſome other towns, and were at laſt entirely ſubdued. From that time, the paſſions ſeemed to infringe the laws made by Lycurgus; but, according to the Abbé Mably, theſe were only *moments of diſtraction, which were repaired by a long continued practice of virtue.*

War with the Meſſenians.

It is ſaid, that the Spartans having been unſucceſsful in the ſecond of theſe wars, the oracle ordered them to procure a general from Athens. The Athenians, delighted with their diſtreſs, ſent them the poet Tyrtæus, who was lame and deformed, and deſpiſed in his own country. This ridiculous general obtained the victory by the warlike enthuſiaſm with which his compoſitions inſpired the ſoldiers. This is evidently a poetical fiction. Let us rather believe the excellent ſayings aſcribed to Leon, one of the Spartan kings, who, when he was aſked under what kind of government men could live in the greateſt ſafety, replied, *Under that where the people are neither rich nor poor; where probity finds many friends,*

Before J. C. 684.

The poet Tyrtæus made general.

friends, and fraud finds none. The ſame prince ſaid one day, when ſpeaking of thoſe who gained the prize at the Olympic games, *Their glory would be much greater, if they had taken as much pains to become virtuous.* Theſe anecdotes are inſtructive, while the detail of the Argive and Meſſenian wars are only tireſome.

We ſhall ſoon ſee Athens the rival of Sparta; but the picture which we muſt firſt draw of the former republic will ſhew the difference of their character and their principles, and give an idea of a new ſpecies of legiſlation.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Republic of Athens till the War againſt the Perſians.

The government of Athens eſtabliſhed by Theſeus, about 1259 years before J. C.

ATTICA was long divided into twelve independent villages, till about the time of the Trojan war, when Theſeus united the whole into one body, forming a kind of republic, of which Athens was the capital. He divided the citizens into three claſſes; the nobles, the labourers, and the mechanics. The nobles, though fewer in number than the reſt, equalled, or rather exceeded, them in power, by holding all the dignities; and this form of government ſubſiſted till Codrus devoted himſelf to a glorious death for the ſake of his country.

Codrus about 1095.

The Archons.

The Athenians breathed a ſpirit of independence more than any other of the Grecian ſtates. A quarrel between the two ſons of Codrus afforded an opportunity of aboliſhing royalty, when they declared that Jupiter was the ſole king of Athens; and the cares of government were committed to a ſet of magiſtrates, who were called Archons. Their magiſtracy, which for three centuries was perpetual and hereditary, had too great an appearance of royalty; its duration was therefore reduced at firſt to ten years, and afterwards became annual; that leſs umbrage might be given by a divided authority,

authority, nine archons were choſen, and the chief of the nine, was called *The Archon*, and gave his name to the current year.

Athens had not as yet any written laws; therefore the deciſions of the magiſtrates depended upon their ideas of what was juſt or unjuſt; that is to ſay, frequently upon caprice; for where rules are wanting, every thing is arbitrary; and the conſequent diſorders ſhewed the neceſſity of having fixed laws. Draco, a virtuous archon, about ſix hundred and twenty four years before Jeſus Chriſt, ſeemed worthy of the glorious employment of being a legiſlator; but he run into an exceſs of ſeverity. All crimes, without diſtinction, he puniſhed capitally; ſaying, that to him even the ſlightest ſeemed to deſerve death, and he could find no other puniſhment for the greateſt. A moſt abſurd and cruel maxim; which, under a pretence of baniſhing vice, muſt annihilate ſociety. Even if inanimate things, ſuch as a ſtatue, had killed a man by accident, he ordered them to be proſecuted, and carried out of the ſtate with execrations, to inſpire men with a deteſtation of murder. Theſe trifling methods, which are not undeſerving of ridicule, ſeem rather to diſgrace than to eſtabliſh legiſlation. The laws of Draco, written in blood, as the Ancients ſaid, deſtroyed themſelves, becauſe they were impracticable.

Before J. C. 624.

Draco the legiſlator.

Exceſſive ſeverity of his laws.

This yoke once broken, the Athenians, guided by the natural impulſe of their genius, paſſed from extreme ſubjection to exceſſive licentiouſneſs; and every one wiſhed to have the form of government modelled to his own liking and particular intereſt. The mountaineers, who were poor, wiſhed for a democracy; the rich inhabitants of the plains preferred ariſtocracy; thoſe on the ſeacoaſts inſiſted upon a mixed government, as the beſt calculated for the general intereſt. Solon had the glory of gaining the confidence of all parties, and in this critical juncture was choſen legiſlator.

Diviſions among the citizens.

Solon was eminent by his birth, and had improved his mind by travelling, and more particularly by his progreſs

Before J. C. 594.

Solon a new legiſlator.

progreſs in philoſophy, which at that time was employed for the improvement of politics; he was of a ſtudious diſpoſition, an amiable man, and a good citizen, for he even refuſed royalty; and undoubtedly could have eſtabliſhed an excellent body of laws, if he had hearkened only to the dictates of his own reaſon, and not been miſled by national prejudices; but, deſirous to pleaſe all parties, he temporized between them, ſo as to ſuffer the ſeeds of every evil to remain. He ſaid, himſelf, that his laws were the beſt the Athenians were capable of receiving. If that be the caſe, Athens was not qualified to admit of a good form of government, and the legiſlator ought not to be blamed.

He wiſhed to ſatisfy all parties.

The democratical form of government.

The chief power was lodged in the hands of the people, and the magiſtracy entruſted to the principal members of the ſtate. Nothing could be better judged, provided their authority had been ſufficient to preſcribe rules to the people, and counterbalance its power; otherwiſe, the want of a perfect equilibrium could not fail to be injurious. Though the citizens who were rich, or of genteel fortunes, formed three of the orders, and the poor only the fourth, yet the laſt, by being the moſt numerous, found, from the arrangement of the legiſlator, that they were the arbiters in affairs of the greateſt conſequence; which was giving up the republic to a reſtleſs, turbulent, blind populace. In the public aſſemblies, whether general or particular, every individual had a right to vote on the ſubjects of peace or war, the finances, or whatever immediately concerned the ſtate; to theſe meetings they had a right to appeal from the ſentence of the ſenate; and Solon made his laws obſcure, that this right might frequently be uſed. Thus the laws, which ought to be equally ſimple and intelligible, ſince they are the common rule of civil life, became the ſubject of diſputes; and the loweſt order of the people, carrying it againſt the other three, became the judges of what they were little capable of determining. We ſhall frequently ſee, in the courſe of their hiſtory, that this expoſed the republic to the greateſt evils.

Four orders of citizens.

The common people maſters of their deliberations and judges of the laws.

On

On the other hand, the ſenate, as eſtabliſhed by Solon, conſiſting of four hundred perſons, a hundred of each tribe,* which they afterwards increaſed to ſix hundred, was either too numerous to deliberate with prudence, or had not a ſufficient aſcendency over the multitude. The common aſſemblies of the people were held almoſt every eight days, where every citizen of fifty years of age had the privilege of ſpeaking; ſo that the talents of a corrupted or ſeditious orator might eaſily overpower the prudence of the ſenators, who had only a right to propoſe the buſineſs of the meeting; from whence there muſt have been a perpetual conteſt between the head and the members, and, of courſe, dreadful convulſions through the whole body. *I am ſurpriſed*, ſaid Anacharſis the Scythian to Solon, *to ſee that with you the wiſe men have only the privilege of conſulting, while the fools have the power to determine.* Experience proved that Anacharſis was right.

The ſenate too numerous and too weak.

The only poſſible remedy for this inconvenience was the reſtoration of the Areopagus, which had been almoſt annihilated by Draco, who had ſubſtituted the tribunal of the *Epheta* in its ſtead. Solon re-eſtabliſhed it, with all its ancient dignity; committing to it the inſpection of public affairs, and more particularly the education of youth (a matter ſo neglected in our days, yet of ſuch infinite conſequence); and it was compoſed ſolely of the ſenior archons. This change could not fail to be of great benefit to the ſtate. But though the Areopagus was highly reſpected, yet it was not a ſufficient barrier againſt popular commotions; an unbridled multitude, with the whole power in their hands, when hurried on by paſſion, does not hearken to the leſſons of prudence.

Solon reſtores the Areopagus, and increaſes its powers.

The particular laws of Solon were ſuperiour to his general form of government, and ought to be ſtudied by thoſe who have a deſire to be acquainted with the principles

Particular laws relating to debts, accuſations, inſurrections, and teſtaments.

* Cecrops had divided the people of Athens into four tribes, which muſt not be confounded with the claſſes of Solon. The number of tribes was afterwards increaſed to ten.

ciples of civil ſociety; I ſhall therefore mention ſome of them, upon which attention may be employed to advantage. After having aboliſhed all the laws of Draco, except thoſe againſt murder, he reſtrained the ſeverity of creditors, and prohibited impriſonment for debt. Monteſquieu obſerves, that this ſhould not be extended to commerce, becauſe the general intereſt would be injured. It is added, that he cancelled the debts, more eaſily to extricate the poor from miſery and oppreſſion. To inſpire a zeal in favour of all the members of the ſtate, he ordained that every citizen might proſecute whoever did an injury to another; and that in all factions and inſurrections, where the public peace was broken, every citizen ſhould be obliged to join one party or the other, becauſe the prudent man would certainly take the right ſide, and be moſt capable of bringing about an accommodation. He determined that thoſe who had no children might leave their fortunes to whom they pleaſed. Till that time wills were unknown, and the next heir ſucceeded; ſo that there was at leaſt the advantage of the fortune remaining in the family. Any man, convicted of living an idle life, after the third accuſation, was reckoned infamous; and the Areopagus carefully inquired by what means every perſon ſubſiſted. He borrowed this law from the Egyptians, and modern nations would do well to profit by it. If a ſon either fooliſhly waſted his father's property, or refuſed to ſupport his parents, he was likewiſe declared infamous: but if they had not bred him to ſome buſineſs, he was neither obliged to maintain them, nor ſubjected to the penalties of this law. By this means, both the father and the children were concerned to fulfil the views of nature and of ſociety. Women brought no fortune to their huſbands but three gowns, and ſome moveables of little value. Portions, which were leſs neceſſary in republics, might make a kind of dangerous traffic of marriage, and likewiſe tear in pieces a family fortune. A citizen who kept company with diſſolute women was excluded from ſpeaking in the aſſemblies of the people, becauſe

Againſt idleneſs, bad ſons, and bad fathers.

On portions. good morals, citizens killed or maimed in war.

becauſe by his manners he had rendered himſelf unworthy of their confidence.

An Archon guilty of drunkenneſs was to be put to death: ſo eſſential a virtue is temperance in a magiſtrate. Children, whoſe fathers were killed in the ſervice of their country, were to be educated at the public expenſe, till the age of twenty one. This was an effectual means of encouraging and ſupporting valour, as infamy was a moſt uſeful puniſhment for cowardice. Piſiſtratus, ſome time after, ordered that ſoldiers maimed in war ſhould be ſupported at the expenſe of the republic.

Law concerning accuſers.

Any perſon accuſing another, who had not a fifth part of the votes in his favour, was obliged to pay a heavy fine. "Solon", ſays the celebrated Monteſquieu, "knew how to prevent the abuſe which the people "might make of the right of judging crimes, and there- "fore the Areopagus had a power of reviſing their ſen- "tences, that in caſe that tribunal thought the perſon "accuſed was unjuſtly acquitted, he might be brought "again to his trial before the people; or, if he was un- "juſtly condemned, the execution of the ſentence might "be ſtopped till the affair was re-examined. An excel- "lent law, which ſubjected the people to the cenſure of "the power which they moſt reſpected, and, indeed, "even to their own." *(Eſprit des Loix, l. 6. ch. 5.)* Wherefore then ſo many inſtances of enormous injuſtice in Athens?

Judgments to be reviſed by the Areopagi.

The oſtraciſm is very well known; by which the moſt illuſtrious men of the republic, upon being ſuſpected, were baniſhed for ten years. It was not intended as a diſgraceful puniſhment, but by way of precautiom, to diſpel the jealouſy of the people. Six thouſand votes were needful to carry it againſt the perſon proſecuted. The number of citizens not exceeding twenty thouſand, an irreproachable character ſeemed to be in ſafety; however, ingratitude, envy and cabal ſometimes triumphed even over virtue. The date and the author of this political inſtitution are unknown; ſome aſcribing it to Theſeus, while others ſay that it was poſterior to

The oſtraciſm.

Solon. The oſtraciſm, known by other names, prevailed in ſeveral democracies; but, as it was not reſtrained by good laws, it could only be productive of miſchief.

Sumptuary laws.

Without dwelling too long upon particulars, it is proper to obſerve, that the Athenian legiſlator limited the expenſes of the women, thoſe of burials and religious ceremonies; objects which are of more or leſs conſequence to the public, according to the nature and wealth of the ſtate.

Foreigners excluded from a ſhare in the government.

Foreigners were permitted to reſide in Athens, but excluded from having any ſhare in the government; and a law was paſſed, making it capital for them to intrude into the aſſemblies of the people.

Thoughts of Anacharſis and Solon on laws.

It is certain that Solon, however well he might be acquainted with the true principles, did not attain the great purpoſe, of legiſlation, the peace and happineſs of the people. We may judge by the following anecdote. Anacharſis, ſpeaking to him one day of the uſeleſſneſs of laws, compared them to cobwebs, in which the feeble and weak are catched, but which are broken through by the rich and powerful. *Men keep their agreements*, replied Solon, *when they have no inducement to violate them; and this is exactly the caſe with regard to my laws; I accommodate them ſo to the intereſt of the people, that all will be ſenſible it is much better to obſerve than to infringe them.* Can any more proper means be contrived, either in morals or politics, to attach people to a ſenſe of their duty, than convincing them that it is their intereſt? And muſt they not find it ſo in a good government, where every thing tends to the public happineſs, and the advantage of individuals is always united with the good of the community? If the effects then did not correſpond with the expectations of the legiſlator, it is becauſe the mode of government and the laws which he eſtabliſhed were not accommodated to the true intereſt of the Athenians. Anacharſis was miſtaken in ſuppoſing that one part of the body politic muſt always be exempt from the laws; and perhaps Solon was wrong in not giving his ſufficient ſtrength to reſtrain the multitude.

titude. But it muſt be allowed, that it was too difficult an undertaking to govern ſuch an untractable people as the Athenians. Who knows but their new laws were the very beſt which they would conſent to receive?

The diſguſt of Solon.

Before the death of the legiſlator, that fickle people gave vent to their national character, by propoſing to him every day to make ſome alterations. He was ſo diſguſted, that he quitted his native country; and they allowed him to remain abſent for ten years. He improved his knowledge during his travels, while the people at home were preparing for a new revolution, and at his return he found the evil incurable. Piſiſtratus, who was his relation, rich, generous, popular, ſkilled in the art of dazzling the citizens by his ſplendid talents, and of gaining them by deceitful careſſes, ſecretly aimed at obtaining the ſovereign power. Solon, who ſaw into his purpoſes, ſaid to him, *Were it not for your ambition, you are the beſt of the Athenians.* It is not uncommon to ſee virtues changed into vices by this paſſion; and Piſiſtratus forfeited his honour, that he might riſe to power. He wounded himſelf one day with his own hand; and, running into the ſtreets, covered with blood, implored the protection of the people, whoſe enemies, he pretended, had made an attempt upon his life. One of his accomplices immediately propoſed that a guard ſhould be appointed to protect the perſon of ſo valuable a citizen; and, when granted, it was employed by Piſiſtratus to take poſſeſſion of the citadel, and eſtabliſh his authority.

Ambition of Piſiſtratus.

He makes himſelf maſter of the ſtate.

Death of Solon.

Solon fruitleſsly attempted to revive in the minds of the people, a love of liberty; and when the uſurper one day ſent to know what had inſpired him with ſuch raſhneſs, he boldly replied, *My old age*; and at laſt, not being able to endure ſuch a melancholy proſpect, he bid an eternal adieu to Athens, and died at a very advanced age. All poſterity has been loud in his praiſes; and the noble deſire of ſeeking inſtruction attended him to the laſt. *I grow old*, ſaid he, *learning many things.* Some verſes of gallantry, which he compoſed in his youth,

youth, could not injure his character; his many virtues, and conſtant labour for the public good, juſtly ſecured him the reputation of wiſdom.

Piſiſtratus expelled, and again eſtabliſhed.

A tyrant (the ancients gave that name to every uſurper, and frequently to their lawful kings) could not live unmoleſted, eſpecially in ſuch a turbulent city as Athens. Notwithſtanding the abilities and pleaſing manners of Piſiſtratus, he was very ſoon obliged to betake himſelf to flight; but was reſtored by Megacles, one of the chief conſpirators, upon condition of marrying his daughter. According to Herodotus, a woman, dreſſed like Minerva, accompanied Piſiſtratus in a chariot, and made the people receive him as if he had been brought back by the goddeſs herſelf. Popular ſuperſtition ſupplied impoſtors with extraordinary reſources; but, however, the factions revived, and Piſiſtratus was obliged once more to retire; yet, after having remained eleven years in exile, he recovered his power by a ſtratagem.

To prevent cabals, he employed the people in agriculture.

After this, he adopted a better ſyſtem of government; inſtead of bringing the inhabitants of the country into the city, as was done by the famous Theſeus, he prudently obliged them to attend to the cares of agriculture; and certainly great advantages were gained, whether effected by perſuaſion or authority; the market place was no longer filled with people ready to engage in cabals; turbulent men were employed in agriculture, which diverted them from every other object, and made them more attentive to the produce of their own labour than to the affairs of government; they cleared waſte lands, and improved others. Piſiſtratus made them pay a tenth for the ſupport of the ſtate; to which they did not conſent without murmuring; but the ſeverity of the tax was ſoftened by his humanity, and the ſweets of peace were enjoyed by the improvers of the country.

He encouraged arts and ſciences.

As another means of making the people tractable, he encouraged the arts and ſciences. He made the Athenians acquainted with the poetry of Homer, erected ſome magnificent buildings, and laid the foundation of

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the temple of Jupiter Olympius; in one word, he inſtructed princes in the art of governing, and, though an uſurper, he reconciled the people to a yoke which ſeemed to ſecure the public happineſs.

His two ſons, Hipparchus and Hippias, ſhared the ſovereign authority. The firſt poſſeſſed all the good qualities of the father, but was aſſaſſinated by Ariſtogiton and Harmodius, who were his perſonal enemies; the other was naturally of a mild temper, but, being provoked by the murder of his brother, and ſeeing the danger to which his own perſon was expoſed, indulged himſelf in an exceſs of ſeverity, which rendered him odious. When Ariſtogiton was put to torture, inſtead of his accomplices he named ſeveral of the friends of Hippias, who were inſtantly put to death; and then concluded, by telling the tyrant, in an inſulting manner, *I now know none but yourſelf deſerving of death.* A woman, whoſe name was Leæna, was expoſed to the ſame torture; dreading leſt the pain ſhould extort ſuch a confeſſion from her as was wanted, ſhe bit off her tongue. This ſtriking incident revived the national ſpirit; the tyrant was obliged to fly, and the popular government was reſtored. We ſhall ſee the Roman liberty ſpringing from a cauſe nearly ſimilar.

Before J. C. 514. Children of Piſiſtratus.

Popular government reſtored.

Sparta had aſſiſted the Athenians againſt the ſons of Piſiſtratus, but ſoon took up arms to give them new maſters, and even to reſtore Hippias. Such conduct was inconſiſtent with that virtue which has been ſo greatly celebrated; but a deſire of preſiding in the affairs of Greece was the great failing of the Spartans: they began to be jealous of the power of Athens; they were afraid that liberty would increaſe both its ſtrength and reputation, and they did not chooſe to have any rivals. We ſhall ſee even the rivalſhip of thoſe ſtates become fatal. Before we take a view of theſe two republics, contending againſt the powers of Aſia, let us reflect one moment upon the difference of their character, and the progreſs of the human mind among the Greeks.

Sparta oppoſed the Athenians when fighting for liberty.

Lycurgus

Difference between Sparta & Athens.

Lycurgus and Solon having followed quite different ſyſtems, either becauſe their ideas were not the ſame, or the genius of the people was not ſuited to receive the ſame kind of laws, Sparta and Athens formed a very extraordinary contraſt. The one was devoted entirely to war, and no citizen could have any other object to engage his attention, nor chooſe any other employment; he muſt therefore either prove a hero, or renounce his country: the other received all the arts, and every kind of learning; every Athenian was obliged to be a ſoldier in caſes of neceſſity, but he might alſo be whatever he pleaſed, provided he was engaged in ſome employment.

Property.

There, a rigorous poverty deſtroyed the ſprings of avarice and ſelf-intereſt, and chained up every paſſion but thoſe which prompted to glory or promoting the good of the ſtate: here, the proſpect of wealth encouraged induſtry, commerce and genius, and the heart was equally engaged in advancing public and private intereſt.

Obedience to the laws.

There, the habit of implicit obedience was contracted from the cradle, and continued through life; and the generals or magiſtrates needed only to give the ſignal, to have their purpoſes immediately executed: here, they endured ſubjection and reſtraint with impatience; loved licentiouſneſs under the name of liberty, giving themſelves up to their unbridled fancy, and often inſulted the laws and the magiſtrates, becauſe their power was too weak to prevent their becoming the ſport of a popular aſſembly.

The effect of manners in government.

The exceſſive auſterity of the Spartans, which from education became a ſecond nature, confirmed a government founded upon the manners; and the ſtrength of government, in its turn, ſupported that againſt the propenſities of human nature. The Athenian manners, ſoftened by a reliſh for pleaſures, and wavering from a want of eſtabliſhed principles, could not be amended by a bad plan of government, and therefore could not fail to increaſe the miſchief.

The national character.

We ſhall ſee the haughty, inflexible and imperious Spartan, always anxious to command, often become cruel and unjuſt in following a

regular

regular ſyſtem of politics: the Athenians, valiant, brave, ingenious, induſtrious, gentle and polite, but vain, trifling and inconſtant, will diſtinguiſh themſelves by glorious actions and noble works, amidſt an infinite number of faults, which will bring on the ruin of the ſtate. This parallel will help to explain the events.

The A-thenians behaved to their ſlaves with humanity.

The manner in which theſe two ſtates treated their ſlaves ſufficiently diſplays the difference of their character. In compariſon of the Helotes, the Athenian ſlaves were the happieſt of mankind. In caſe of grievances, they had a right to apply to juſtice for redreſs againſt their maſters; they were allowed to purchaſe land, and to redeem themſelves, when they had amaſſed a ſufficient ſum for that purpoſe; they were often made free, as a recompenſe for their ſervices, or from pure generoſity, and then they made choice of patrons who protected their intereſts. As much as the Helotes juſtly deteſted the Spartans, ſo much ought the Athenian ſlaves to have been attached to their maſters, if it were poſſible to inſpire a love for ſlavery.

Learning began to flouriſh.

This humanity, which extended even to the brutes, certainly proceeded in a great meaſure from the cultivation of the mind. A taſte for learning, which contributes ſo much to ſoften the manners, had already begun to be diſplayed in Attica. In the time of Solon, the

Theatre.

drama was invented by Theſpis; and though the legiſlator upbraided him with having uttered falſehoods in public, the dramatic art, properly directed, might prove equally a ſource of pleaſure and inſtruction.

Library.

Piſiſtratus enriched Athens with a public library; and his ſon Hipparchus entertained the poet Simonides at his court,

Poets at the court of Hipparchus.

to which he likewiſe invited Anacreon, whoſe verſes ſtill delight the world by their elegant ſimplicity. Archilochus, Steſichorus, Alceus, and Sappho, had already brought lyric poetry into vogue. The ancient Greek colonies boaſted that theirs was the country of celebrated writers. Nothing is ſo favourable for genius as peace and happineſs, which they for a long time enjoyed.

Where

Philoſophy at firſt was confined to morals & politics.

Where the rays of literature and taſte exert their influence on genius, they produce the happieſt effects: new ideas ſpring up in crowds; the true and the beautiful are ſought after; men, ſeeking inſtruction, find it neceſſary to ſtudy; and philoſophy begins to dawn. Happily, it was firſt directed to the moſt eſſential objects, morals and politics. It was natural that ſtudious people, in a land of liberty, ſhould at firſt employ themſelves in whatever could contribute to the happineſs of mankind, or the good of the ſtate.

Converſation of ancient ſages.

Plutarch mentions a converſation of ancient ſages, diſputing upon the following queſtion: What is the moſt perfect kind of popular government? To which they made the following anſwers. Solon ſaid, it was that, *where an injury done to an individual was felt by the whole*: Bias; *where the law reigned inſtead of a monarch*: Thales; *where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor*: Anacharſis; *where virtue is honoured, and vice deteſted*: Pittacus; *where dignities are conferred only upon the deſerving, and never upon the wicked*: Cleobulus; *where the people are more afraid of cenſure than the law*: Chilo; *where the laws, and not orators, are hearkened to, and have influence*. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, whoſe gueſts they were, concluded in favour of that popular government which approaches the neareſt to ariſtocracy, where a few virtuous men hold the reins. Though this converſation is probably fictitious, it ſhews us upon what ſubjects the philoſophers employed their minds before they became ſophiſts.

Aſtronomy. Diviſion of the year by Thales & by Solon.

However, Thales of Miletus in Ionia, who is placed at the head of the ſeven Grecian ſages, diſtinguiſhed himſelf likewiſe by his ſpeculative philoſophy, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in another place. He was an aſtronomer, but was excelled by Solon in that ſcience, which was little known to the Greeks. Thales divided the year into twelve months of thirty days, and, perceiving his miſtake, corrected it by another errour, for he intercalated a whole month at the end of every ſecond year. Solon improved the year of Thales, by making

making it purely a lunar year of three hundred and fifty four days, and intercalated twenty three days at the end of every ſecond year, to make it ſquare with the true year. This was making a great advance in Greece, ſince they were even unacquainted with the diviſion of the week into ſeven days. The Egyptians and the Phenicians had been infinitely more learned for a number of ages.

Architecture. Commerce.

At this time the fine arts had begun to be perfected. The two firſt orders of architecture, the Doric and the Ionic, had been invented; and the genius of that time ſeemed to pave the way for the ages of Pericles and Philip. Corinth ſet the example of maritime commerce, and united wealth and ſplendour to liberty. In a word, Greece arrived at the period of bright and ſolid glory, which at firſt was the produce of war and patriotiſm, but in the end was the effect of genius univerſally exerciſed.

BOOK SECOND.

From the BEGINNING of the WAR againſt the PERSIANS, till the GOVERNMENT of PERICLES.

CHAP. I.

Beginning of the War againſt the Perſians. Miltiades victorious at Marathon.

General idea of the war carried on againſt the Perſians.

THOUGH war be in itſelf dreadful, as it preſents nothing to our view but men killed by men, and ruins covered with human blood, it becomes a ſource of noble and ſurpriſing actions, when undertaken or carried on for ſelf-defence, by citizens who unite diſcipline and military ſkill to the moſt heroic courage. To meet the greateſt dangers, to deſpiſe death, to make up for the want of numbers by dint of genius and bravery, to improve the ſmalleſt advantages, to repair the greateſt misfortunes, to overcome enemies who think themſelves almoſt certain of victory, to ſave the lives and liberties of the people, to deſerve acknowledgments and immortal renown for important ſervices, will in ſome degree deface thoſe horrours which are inſeparable from every bloody enterpriſe. The war between the Greeks and Perſians, from the greatneſs of the object, will be found particularly intereſting.

Cauſe of the war.

Before J. C. 501.

We left the great empire of Cyrus in poſſeſſion of Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes; whoſe ambition, confined within too narrow limits in Aſia, made him thirſt after new conqueſts. A deſire of revenge, added to this inſatiable paſſion, inſpired him with the ſcheme of ſubduing Greece. The Ionians, having rebelled againſt him, applied for protection to the Greeks in Europe. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, protector of the tyrant Hippias, that had been driven out of Athens, refuſed to aſſiſt the Ionians; but the more generous Athenians granted

granted them twenty ſhips. Athens was provoked againſt the Perſians, who had received Hippias into their country with a deſign of reſtoring him; and at that time the enthuſiaſm of liberty was in the greateſt fermentation: the people, who had languiſhed under the ſons of Piſiſtratus, from the moment of their burſting theſe chains began to be animated with the moſt heroic ſpirit. Athens declares for the Ionians againſt Darius.

The Ionians thought they had gained their liberty, upon their marching into Lydia, and deſtroying Sardis; but Darius was very ſoon revenged by the deſtruction of Miletus, when he forced Ionia, and the neighbouring iſlands, to return to their obedience. He then ſent heralds into Greece to demand earth and water, that is to ſay, an acknowledgment of his ſovereignty. In their indignation, the Spartans put to death two of the heralds, whoſe perſons the law of nations ought to have rendered ſacred; but ſeveral cities ſubmitted, particularly Egina, ſituated near Athens, in the Egean ſea. The Athenians complained of this cowardice to the Spartans, who preſided at the Grecian confederacy; and the chief of the Eginetæ were ſeized as traitors to their country. It was a great happineſs for Greece, that a crowd of little ſtates, totally independent on one another, were ſo united by treaties and reciprocal obligations; that their common intereſt had the force of a law, and that a kind of general tribunal was authorized to puniſh treachery. Without ſuch an advantage, they muſt have ſoon ſubmitted to the yoke. Darius attempts to ſubdue Greece. Athens and Sparta unite againſt him.

Darius ſent an army by land, and likewiſe a fleet, to execute his project: his fleet was wrecked in doubling Cape Athos, called at preſent *Capo Santo*; and the Thracians attacked and diſperſed his army in the night, which was commanded by Mardonius, an unexperienced young nobleman. A greater army, under better generals, came pouring in upon Attica, after having plundered Eretria in the Iſle of Eubea. Athens, being in danger, applied to the confederates for the neceſſary aid; and Sparta promiſed to grant it, but declared that they muſt The Perſians enter Attica. Athens ſolicits the aſſiſtance of the allies.

muſt wait a few days, becauſe the religious cuſtom prevented them from taking the field before the full moon; a ſuperſtition moſt unworthy of that wiſe and warlike republic. The other ſtates were ſtruck dumb with conſternation, except Platea, which ſent them a thouſand fighting men; ſo that they were obliged, for the firſt time, to arm their ſlaves.

Athenian army under ten generals.

The Athenian army conſiſted only of ten thouſand men, and the Perſians had more than a hundred thouſand.* This great inequality may be looked upon as a leſs evil than the appointment of ten generals, named by the ten tribes, who were to have the command every day alternately. How could it be expected that they ſhould follow one uniform plan; that the whole ſhould act in concert; or that the incapacity of one ſhould not render the ſuperiour abilities of another totally uſeleſs? The imprudence of the Athenians was evident in this abſurd practice, which a miſtaken zeal for liberty had eſtabliſhed. Happily for them, Miltiades was one of their generals, and his colleagues had a ſincere regard for their country, which was the preſervation of Athens.

Miltiades propoſes to attack the enemy

It was neceſſary to determine whether they ſhould attack the enemy, or wait for them within the walls of the city; and the laſt meaſure, ſeeming to be the moſt ſecure, carried the greateſt number of votes; but Miltiades ventured to inſiſt upon the firſt, as neceſſary in their ſituation, where a vigorous effort was wanted. The virtuous Ariſtides, who was one of the generals, ſupported the opinion of Miltiades, and prevailed; and, being convinced that one chief was needful for the execution, when his day of command came, generouſly reſigned it to that great man, and all the reſt followed his example.

Before J. C. 490. Battle of Marathon

The battle of Marathon was the triumph of patriotiſm. The military art, which was but little known before

* Rollin makes their army a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; after having ſaid, in the preceding page, that they were five hundred thouſand. Juſtin makes them ſix hundred thouſand. Cornelius Nepos, with more probability, ſuppoſes them only ten times the number of the Athenians. Whom ſhall we believe?

fore that time, completely ſeconded Athenian valour. Miltiades drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, covering both flanks, that he might not be ſurrounded; and, to ſecure the greateſt reſources, he placed his principal ſtrength in the wings. The Greeks ruſhed on to the engagement, and the enemy were thrown into diſorder by that unexpected impetuoſity; the two wings, having routed thoſe of the Perſians, poured in upon the main body of their army, which could no longer reſiſt, and the whole were put to flight. Hippias was ſlain in the battle, at a time when he undoubtedly flattered himſelf that he would reduce his country to ſlavery.

Shameful flight of the Perſians.

This great army, which Darius had ordered to ſend all the Athenians to him in chains, and which had brought marble on purpoſe to erect trophies, fled with the greateſt precipitation to the ſhips, ſeven of which were taken, and many of the reſt burnt by the conquerors. The Spartans arrived next day, after a forced march of three days. They would have reckoned the delay a crime, if ſuperſtition had not impoſed it upon them as a duty.

Glory the reward of the conquerors.

Glory was then the reward of great men, and ſufficient for republican virtue. Monuments were erected in honour of the ſlain; a painting was made of the battle of Marathon, and all the favour which was ſhewn to Miltiades was to repreſent him in the picture at the head of his colleagues.

Injuſtice of the Athenians to Miltiades.

Who could ſuſpect that the preſerver of his country ſhould become a victim of ingratitude? But the Athenians were always ſo diſtruſtful, that the leaſt ſuſpicion made them forget the greateſt ſervices. Miltiades, having required a fleet, in order to puniſh the people of the iſlands who had betrayed the common intereſt, attacked Paros; but after a long ſiege, in which he was wounded, he miſcarried in the enterpriſe, and returned to Athens. Whether, as Herodotus ſays, perſonal hatred prompted him to this undertaking, or that the people could not reproach him with any fault but his misfortune, is uncertain; he was moſt unjuſtly treated as a criminal.

He

He was accuſed, and condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents*, a ſum equal to the expenſe of the fleet. Not being in a ſituation to diſcharge ſuch a fine, this moſt reſpectable hero, who had refuſed the ſovereign power in Cherſoneſus, that he might devote his ſervice to his country, died in priſon.

CHAP. II.

The riſe of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles. The invaſion of Greece by Xerxes.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles.

AFTER the death of Miltiades, two other illuſtrious citizens, Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, had the greateſt influence in conducting the public affairs.

Difference of their character and principles.

A difference of character and principles occaſioned a remarkable diſagreement between them from their earlieſt years. Ariſtides, of an auſtere and irreproachable virtue, deteſted whatever was not perfectly conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt juſtice, and very well deſerved the application of the following verſe of Eſchylus, which was made to him by the whole audience at the theatre : *His deſire is to be truly juſt, not to appear ſo* ; the encomium of conſummate virtue. Themiſtocles, full of fire, boldneſs, and ambition, was not at all ſcrupulous about the means, provided he could ſecure ſucceſs, making his principles eaſily bend to times and circumſtances ; leſs anxious to deſerve, than to procure admirers and aſſociates, he could not fail, with ſuch uncommon abilities (as his preceptor had foretold), either to do a great deal of good, or great harm, to his country.

Their ſyſtem of politics different.

Athens had always been a theatre of political diſputes. When the ſyſtem of government in a free ſtate is bad, parties differ on its fundamentals. Ariſtides, having imbibed the maxims of Lycurgus, who laid the people under neceſſary reſtraint, was inclined to ariſtocracy. Themiſtocles,

* 967*o l.* if with Budeus we value the Mina at 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* or 9300*l.* if we adopt the calculation of Agricola, who makes the Mina only equal to 3*l.* 2*s.*

Themiſtocles, whoſe intereſt it was to flatter the people, declared for democracy; and the ſurname *Juſt*, which was univerſally given to his rival, did not in the leaſt wound his pride, becauſe he foreſaw that this honourable appellation could not be pleaſing, even to thoſe who beſtowed it; and that it would become a motive for hatred and jealouſy.

Themiſtocles renders Ariſtides ſuſpected.

To get rid of ſuch a rival, whom he always found differing in opinion from him, he employed even the title, which was an evidence of ſuperiour virtue, as a mean of accompliſhing his purpoſe, by repreſenting Ariſtides as a ſovereign judge in all caſes; as a monarch, whoſe word was a law, without having occaſion for the trappings of royalty. His emiſſaries filled the minds of the people with ſuſpicions, till they at laſt inſiſted on the oſtraciſm. It was a cuſtom to write the name of the perſon they deſired to have baniſhed upon a ſhell (ὀστρακον). A peaſant who could not write, and was unacquainted with the perſon of Ariſtides, preſented him with a ſhell, deſiring him to write the name of Ariſtides upon it. *What injury has this man done to you?* ſaid this virtuous citizen. *None at all*, replied the peaſant; *but I am tired of hearing him inceſſantly called the* JUST. Upon which, Ariſtides wrote his own name. There were at leaſt ſix thouſand votes againſt him, for that number was required by the law; and he received his ſentence with reſignation, ſaying at ſetting out upon his exile, *I pray the gods may not ſuffer the Athenians to have cauſe to remember Ariſtides.*

Oſtraciſm againſt Ariſtides.

Foreſight in Themiſtocles.

After ſuch an unworthy action, Themiſtocles muſt have been loaded with reproach to the lateſt poſterity, if he had not ſoon after done ſuch noble ſervices to his country. Nobody had more extenſive views in either war or politics, and no man was more proper for putting them in execution. Far from being lulled into ſecurity, like the reſt of the Athenians, who thought that the victory gained at Marathon delivered them from all danger, he looked upon the war with the Perſians as ſcarce begun, and did not doubt but it would continue

to rage with fury. He reflected upon the weakneſs and the reſources of Athens; and obſerving, that though they were advantageouſly ſituated for having a fleet, yet they were inferiour in that reſpect to their neighbours the Eginetæ; and being convinced that nothing but a ſtrong naval force could preſerve the ſtate, increaſe their wealth, or advance their power, he attached himſelf chiefly to this object; and perſuaded the Athenians to dedicate the produce of their ſilver mines, which was uſually ſhared equally among the people, to the purpoſe of fitting out a fleet. From this fund they built a hundred galleys, which proved the bulwark of the republic.

Attempt of Xerxes againſt Greece.

If it had not been for this precaution, and theſe meaſures, Greece muſt have been infallibly deſtroyed. Darius was preparing to invade the country, with all the power of Aſia, when he was taken ill, and died; but his ſon Xerxes, inheriting his father's reſentment, and adding to it all the heat of a haughty, impetuous youth,* after having made immenſe preparations, ſent to demand *earth and water*. Themiſtocles, to animate his countrymen ſtill more, by depriving them of every hope of accommodation (for it was neceſſary either to preſerve their liberty, or to be buried with it) put to death the interpreter who explained the King of Perſia's declaration, and by this proceeding laid them under the neceſſity of being invincible.

Prodigious army of Xerxes.

Xerxes, in the mean time, at the head of an innumerable army, which Herodotus, and Rollin after him, make to amount to five millions two hundred thouſand men, including the ſeamen, and all the followers of the army, came in triumph to cruſh a petty nation, which he deſpiſed. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Pliny, Elian, and many other writers, leſſen the number of the army greatly. Though Herodotus's calculation is evidently abſurd, ſome people ſay that he deſerves the greateſt credit,

Herodotus not to be credited about the detail of this expedition.

* Xerxes was a ſon of a ſecond marriage, by the Princeſs Atoſſa, daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius married when he was upon the throne. Darius preferred him before his children of the firſt marriage, and appointed him his ſucceſſor, as the eldeſt ſon of the *King*, though not the eldeſt ſon of *Darius*. A Spartan ſuggeſted this diſtinction, ſaying it was the cuſtom in Sparta.

credit, becauſe he lived at the time of this expedition; but we need only attend to his narration, the ſpeeches, the dreams, and the circumſtances which he adapts to them, to diſtruſt his evidence. He ſeems rather to have imitated Homer, than to have written like an hiſtorian. He repreſents Xerxes, at one time, as a philoſopher, melting into tears at the ſight of this immenſe multitude, of whom not one would be found exiſting in a hundred years; at another time, as a furious madman, ordering the ſea to be ſcourged, becauſe a tempeſt had broken the bridge of boats, over which his troops were to have paſſed the Helleſpont (at preſent the Dardanelles), and all the workmen to be puniſhed, as if they could have chained the winds and waves. Herodotus ſays, that Xerxes opened a paſſage for his fleet through mount Athos; but modern travellers deny that ſuch a work was ever performed.

Juſt cauſe for diſtruſting the Greeks.

Is it not amazing how Grecian fables could impoſe upon ſo many valuable writers? By copying them, hiſtory is deprived of probability, and critical inquiry become uſeleſs. Muſt we look upon the Perſians as barbarians, becauſe the Greeks called them ſo? Is it not well known, that they were a civilized and flouriſhing nation, at the time when Greece was immerſed in a ſtate of horrid barbarity? Grecian vanity, which well deſerves to be proverbial, ſhould make us attentive how we give credit to their details, and the more ſo, as we can derive very little benefit from them.

Demaratus, king of Sparta, fled to Perſia for refuge. What he ſaid to Xerxes of the Greeks.

Demaratus, one of the kings of Lacedemon, had been for ſome time baniſhed; becauſe in his country, as he ſaid himſelf, *the law was more powerful than the kings*. He ſought an aſylum in Perſia, and was received there with particular reſpect. Xerxes, having reviewed his troops, aſked him if the Greeks durſt wait his approach: to which he frankly replied, eſpecially with regard to the Spartans, that the love of liberty would make them lend a deaf ear to every propoſal; and though they were reduced to but a handful of men, they would not decline the combat. *They are free*, added he; *but they pay an*

implicit obedience to the law; and that law commands them to conquer or die. And the event verified his aſſertion. The ſubſequent narration will now ſhew what liberty is capable of executing againſt deſpotic power.

Sparta and Athens prepare for war.

The Spartans and Athenians, having been informed, by Demaratus himſelf, of the invaſion with which they were threatened, endeavoured to animate all the Grecian ſtates to take up arms for the general cauſe; but fear in ſome, and a jealouſy of the command in others, detached almoſt all the allies from the confederacy; yet they were not leſs diſpoſed to make a vigorous defence. The Athenians made haſte to chooſe their general. An arrogant, avaricious orator, whoſe name was Epicydes, ſet himſelf up as the rival of Themiſtocles; and as the people are always eaſily deceived, he was upon the point of being preferred, when Themiſtocles, knowing his weak ſide, loaded him with preſents, and prevailed with him to deſiſt, and thus got himſelf appointed to the command. The public good required it. In ſuch ſituations, a man of ſuperiour abilities, without tranſgreſſing the bounds of modeſty, may do himſelf juſtice, and employ all his influence to procure an employment, where honour is ſurrounded with danger.

Themiſtocles gets himſelf appointed general.

Though the Athenians had fitted out two thirds of the fleet, the Spartans contended with them for the right of commanding; and all the allies having declared in their favour, Eurybiades, who by no means deſerved it, was choſen admiral. Themiſtocles, from the dread of a rupture, conſented; and told the Athenians, that they ſhould not heſitate to yield that honour to the Spartans, provided they did their duty. He had given a remarkable proof of his moderation before this, by ſupporting a decree for recalling thoſe that were in exile, particularly Ariſtides. The union of theſe two illuſtrious rivals, in the neceſſities of the ſtate, is one of the moſt affecting leſſons which can be given to patriotiſm, and we ſhall ſee its effects by what follows.

Eurybiades choſen admiral of the fleet.

Prudent conduct of Themiſtocles.

At laſt Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, a very narrow paſſage, where he was met by four thouſand men, under

Before J. C. 480.

the

the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta. The Perſian monarch, having fruitleſsly attempted to corrupt him, wrote to him in the ſtyle of a maſter, commanding him to lay down his arms: to which Leonidas replied, like a Spartan, *Come and take them.* The enemy were repulſed, notwithſtanding their prodigious numbers, but unfortunately they diſcovered a path by which they gained the ſummit without being perceived, ſo that the poſt could be no longer defended. Leonidas, with three hundred Spartans, after having obliged the reſt of the Greeks to retire, did not deſiſt from attacking the Perſians, devoting himſelf to certain death, either for the honour of his country, or to intimidate the enemy by a prodigy of valour. All theſe heroes fell in the field, except one who brought the news, and who was treated as an infamous deſerter in Sparta, till he glorioufly wiped out the diſgrace the firſt opportunity. The Amphictyons fixed up the following inſcription at Thermopylæ ſome time after, which is moſt admirable even for its ſimplicity. *Paſſenger, declare at Lacedemon, that we died here in obedience to its laws.*

Battle of Thermopylæ.

Leonidas fell with his Spartans.

The paſſage of Thermopylæ coſt Xerxes twenty thouſand men; a ſmall loſs for ſuch a numerous army, without ſuppoſing, as ſome credulous hiſtorians have done, that it amounted to three millions of fighting men, or even a quarter of that number; for it ſeemed that his opponents, who had only eleven thouſand two hundred men, could not poſſibly eſcape utter deſtruction. He continued his march, marking his way with fire and deſolation; and, inquiring how the Greeks were employed, was told they were celebrating the Olympic games, of which he received ſome account, particularly that a ſimple olive crown was the prize ſo eagerly contended for; upon which, one of his ſatraps exclaimed, *What men, to contend only for honour!*

The Greeks celebrated the Olympic games notwithſtanding their danger.

However, Athens was on the brink of deſtruction; the Peloponneſians forſook them, to fortify themſelves behind the Iſthmus of Corinth. The oracle had declared, that Athens could find no ſafety *but in walls of wood.*

Athens has no reſource left but in its fleet.

Themiſtocles makes them quit the city.

wood. This oracle, probably inſpired by Themiſtocles, enabled him to lead the people where he pleaſed; and finding that the city could not be defended againſt ſuch a deluge of enemies, and that the ſea was their only aſylum, he perſuaded them that their ſhips were the walls of wood meant by the oracle, and that the gods themſelves commanded them to embark. As religion attached the Athenians to their homes, to their burying places, and their temples, a higher motive of the ſame kind was neceſſary to make them withdraw from the city. He with great difficulty obtained a decree, declaring that Athens ſhould be committed to the protection of Minerva, and that all the citizens capable of ſerving ſhould go on board the ſhips, every one taking proper meaſures for the ſafety of his family.

Xerxes takes Athens.

They parted ſhedding floods of tears, and the citizens of Træzenæ in Argolis generouſly received the women, children, and old men, and provided for their ſubſiſtence. Some of the citizens, being obſtinately reſolved to remain, ſhut themſelves up in the citadel, whoſe walls, being of wood, ſeemed to them as intended by the oracle, and they defended it till they were all killed. Xerxes burnt this fortification, and enjoyed the pleaſure of revenge, without being able to foreſee the impending revolution.

CHAP. III.

The Battles of Salamis, Platea, and Mycale; the final Expulſion of the Perſians from Greece.

Diſpute between Themiſtocles and Eurybiades.

A FIRST naval engagement, which was fought near Artemiſium, though not deciſive, yet was of great advantage to the Greeks, by inſtructing them in the management of their ſhips, and convincing them that they could oppoſe the enemy, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his fleet. They again rendezvouſed in the Straits of Salamis, where a council was held to decide on their future motions. Eurybiades, and a majority of the

the council, were for gaining the Gulph of Corinth, that they might be ready to defend Peloponneſus. Themiſtocles inſiſted, that it would be an unpardonable fault to quit the Strait, where the Perſian fleet had not room to act; *Strike, but hearken,* ſaid he to Eurybiades, who in the heat of the diſpute had threatened him with his cane. This expreſſion had ſuch an effect upon the Spartan, that from that moment he gave himſelf up to the direction of Themiſtocles. Happily, that falſe honour, which barbarians have introduced amongſt us, was unknown to them; they knew how to deſpiſe an injury, or to revenge it glorioufly.

The preſumption of Xerxes

If Xerxes had followed the advice of Artemiſia, queen of Halicarnaſſus, a ſenſible, heroic woman, who accompanied him, he would have avoided a hazardous battle, and by advancing ſlowly muſt have deſtroyed the Greeks, without being expoſed to ſuffer; but his pride made him deaf to reaſon, as he thought it was not poſſible for the enemy to make any reſiſtance. Themiſtocles draws him into a ſnare.

Themiſtocles, on purpoſe to draw him into a ſnare, cauſed him to be privately informed that the Greeks were going to retreat from Salamis, and by that means he would loſe the opportunity of ruining their fleet at one blow. This advice determined him, and he immediately gave orders to engage, while he placed himſelf upon an eminence, that his preſence might animate his troops. A great prince would have animated them by his example.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles unite in defence of their country.

It was at this time that Ariſtides, like a true citizen, came from his command at Egina to join Themiſtocles, no perſonal enmity being able to cool his zeal for his country. After having invited him to put an end to their differences, he offered to ſerve under him, and to aſſiſt in his councils. Themiſtocles was too great a man not to be ſenſible of the value of ſuch offers, and from that moment a mutual confidence took place; an infallible preſage of ſucceſs.

Battle of Salamis.

The battle of Salamis, like that of Marathon, ſhewed that an excellent general is alone almoſt equivalent to an

an army; and Themiſtocles, without having the title, yet diſcharged the duties. He knew how to take the advantage of the wind, and drew up the fleet in excellent order. The Perſian ſhips were heavy, and too numerous to act in ſuch a narrow ſtrait, ſo that they run into confuſion, and could not reſiſt the Greeks, who, with leſs than four hundred ſail, diſperſed a naval armament, ſaid to have conſiſted of more than two thouſand.

Artemiſia. The courage of Queen Artemiſia gave room for ſaying, that the women ſhewed themſelves men, and the men behaved like women.

Xerxes flies into Aſia. The great king ſhamefully fled, upon a falſe alarm being artfully conveyed to him by Themiſtocles, that the Greeks deſigned to break his bridge of boats; and he haſtily repaſſed into Aſia, leaving Mardonius with three hundred thouſand men, according to the Greek hiſtorians, to repair the diſaſter.

Mardonius attempts to ſeduce the Athenians Mardonius, though naturally indiſcreet and arrogant, had learned that victory does not depend on numbers; he thought that it would be a more certain means of accompliſhing his purpoſe, if he could divide the Greeks, and therefore ſent the king of Macedonia to the Athenians, with very advantageous propoſals; even offering to give them the command of all Greece, if they would withdraw from the allies.

The anſwer of Ariſtides. Ariſtides was at that time principal archon, upon whoſe heart no offers could make the leaſt impreſſion; he therefore anſwered, in the preſence of the Spartan ambaſſadors, that all the wealth and all the promiſes in the world ſhould not corrupt the virtue of the Athenians; that they would ever remain mortal enemies of the Perſians, and eternally revenge upon them the evils which their country had ſuffered.

The ſentiments of the Athenians with regard to the Perſians. He cauſed the ſevereſt curſes to be denounced againſt whoever ſhould propoſe ſuch an alliance, or betray the national confederacy; ſentiments which were ſo deeply engraven on the hearts of the people, that an Athenian was inſtantly ſtoned for giving it as his opinion, that they ſhould give audience to a ſecond deputy from Mardonius, while the women in a rage ſtoned his wife and children as criminals. Upon this occaſion the law of

nations

nations prevailed over the civil law, for the deputy was dismissed without suffering any insult.

The Spartans send an army.

To support such proceedings, it was absolutely necessary that they should shew a resolution proof against all the calamities of war. Mardonius wreaked his vengeance upon Athens, and destroyed it entirely, the inhabitants having as formerly retired to Salamis. The Spartans were not anxious to assist them, as they reserved their forces for the defence of Peloponnesus; but at last, being struck with the reproaches of their allies, they sent five thousand citizens, each of them attended by seven Helotes. The Grecian army was then at least sixty six thousand strong, among whom were reckoned only eight thousand Athenians. These were sufficient against a bad general and an undisciplined multitude: Pausanias, tutor to one of the kings of Sparta, had the command, and Aristides was at the head of the Athenians.

Before J. C. 479. Battle of Platea.

They entered Bœotia, which the enemy preferred to Attica, as it was open and level, and better suited for the motions of large armies. Notwithstanding the representations of one of his best officers, Mardonius, dreading the want of provisions, yielded to the natural impetuosity of his temper, and was resolved to engage. A contempt of good counsels generally leads to destruction; and the battle of Platea proved no less fatal to the Persians, than the battle of Salamis. Their imprudent general was killed, a body of forty thousand saved themselves by a speedy flight, and almost all the rest were cut in pieces. After this defeat, the Persians never more returned to Europe.

The moderation of Pausanias after the victory.

One of the Eginetæ proposing to Pausanias to revenge the insult which was offered to the body of Leonidas, upon that of Mardonius, he nobly replied, They are little acquainted with true glory who desire to imitate barbarians; Sparta glories in her moderation, and not in mean revenge; besides, the Spartans are sufficiently avenged by the death of so many thousand Persians. A few days after the battle, on purpose to give an affecting

ing leſſon to his officers, he cauſed a feaſt to be prepared with all the luxury of Aſia, and at the ſame time a ſmall repaſt ſuited to Spartan frugality. The contraſt was ſtriking. *What an egregious folly*, cried he, *for Mardonius, who was accuſtomed to live ſo deliciouſly, to come and attack men who can forego every ſuperfluity.* However, even the manners of this general were corrupted by the plunder which was taken at Platea.

The Spartans and Athenians diſpute the prize of valour.

Emulation contributed as much as virtue to the ſucceſs of the Greeks, and the people of each ſtate contended for the prize of valour, which was ſolemnly decided. The Spartans and the Athenians diſputed with a zeal which might have degenerated into outrage; and the only means which could be found to ſettle the controverſy, was to concur in giving their ſuffrages in favour of another people. The prize was accordingly adjudged to the Plateans, and Ariſtides and Pauſanias acquieſced in the deciſion. Heroiſm muſt become ~~a~~ natural to a nation, when glory is its great incentive; a branch of laurel is ſufficient to excite the nobleſt attempts in a country, where a pecuniary recompenſe would be a diſgrace to merit. The hiſtory of ancient republics frequently preſents ſuch objects for our admiration. The victory of Salamis procured to Themiſtocles the honour of ſeeing all the people of Greece riſe up in his preſence at the Olympic games, and look upon him, with the higheſt reſpect, as their deliverer. He confeſſed that this recompenſe was even ſuperiour to his deſires.

Reward of Themiſtocles.

Cauſe of the Grecians ſucceeding in this war.

A noble emulation, a ſpirit of patriotiſm, and a love of liberty, ſtrict diſcipline, and, above all, the abilities of the Grecian generals, compared with the mean, ſlaviſh diſpoſition of the Perſians, the fooliſh pride and baſe cowardice of their maſter, and the imprudence of his generals, account for the fate of this war. How could millions of combatants, with generals of only indifferent abilities, be baffled by an atom, if we may uſe the expreſſion? Ought not the number alone to have cruſhed the Greeks, if there had been a head to have guided the members? Was not Greece, which was

divided,

divided, and filled with traitors, ready to fall an eaſy prey to the Aſiatic monarch? Not only a Xerxes, and a Mardonius, but likewiſe a Themiſtocles, an Ariſtides, and a Pauſanias, were neceſſary to bring about ſuch extraordinary events.

Xerxes defeated likewiſe in Aſia.

The Perſians, already conquered in Europe, were as hard fated in Aſia; for they were defeated in a naval engagement fought at Mycale, on the ſame day with the battle of Platea With the aſſiſtance of the Ionians, the Greeks completed the deſtruction of Xerxes's fleet and army. He fled to Sardis, where he gave orders to burn and deſtroy all the temples of the Grecian colonies. This order was not dictated by impiety, for the religion of the Perſian Magi forbid all temples and idols. Let us here obſerve the weakneſs of a baſe coward, who, not daring to fight with men, revenged his diſgrace upon lifeleſs walls; or, who, having fooliſhly exhauſted his treaſures, ſeeks a reſource in the plunder of temples, and makes himſelf execrable in the eyes of thoſe people, whom he formerly reckoned among the number of his ſubjects. All the cities of Ionia immediately joined the general league.

Burns the temples.

CHAP. IV.

The Re-eſtabliſhment of Athens, notwithſtanding the jealouſy of Sparta. The Adminiſtration of Ariſtides.

Beginning of the diviſions between Sparta & Athens.

IF the Greeks had been as prudent as they were brave, they would have thought of nothing but how to unite more cloſely, by confirming the league, of which they had felt the neceſſity, and upon which their ſtrength depended. A mutual emulation, which tends to inſpire the deſire of excelling, muſt be an advantage, if it does not degenerate into deteſtable jealouſy; but that ambition, which generally proves fatal to great empires, is likewiſe the deſtruction of little ſtates. Elated by their victories, the two rival republics became mortal enemies, and

and did one another infinitely more miſchief than they had received from the Perſians. Let us trace the progreſs and conſequences of this diſſenſion, the ſeeds of which, though at firſt dormant, ſoon ſprung up, and produced a malignity which prognoſticated a civil war.

Sparta oppoſes the rebuilding of Athens.

As ſoon as the total defeat of the Perſians had diſpelled their fears, the Athenians prepared to rebuild and fortify their city; and certainly nothing could be more juſt or more neceſſary; but, however, they found an obſtruction in the ambitious policy of Sparta, which, looking upon the maritime power and glory, newly acquired by that republic, with a jealous eye, dreaded that the honour of having the command would fall into its hands; and therefore ſome pretences of the public advantage were found to oppoſe the views of the Athenians. They pleaded, that the general intereſt required that no fortification ſhould be ſuffered out of Peloponneſus, leſt the enemy, in caſe of another invaſion, ſhould make it a place of arms. To ſuch unjuſt policy Themiſtocles thought it requiſite to oppoſe artifice. While he amuſed the Spartans with words and delays, men, women and children contended who ſhould be moſt induſtrious in rearing the walls of Athens. The Spartans loudly complained, but Themiſtocles denied the fact, and deſired that they would prove it on the ſpot; they ſent deputies, but he privately adviſed the Athenians to detain them as hoſtages; and when the whole was completed, he declared that the Athenians had done nothing, but employ the common rights of mankind in providing for their ſafety, by putting the city in a ſtate of defence; that after having rendered ſuch eminent ſervices to Greece, it was an affront to ſuſpect them of any ſiniſter intention; and that it was unjuſt in Sparta, to deſire to eſtabliſh its own power upon the weakneſs of its allies; beſide, he did not bluſh to own that he had uſed deceit, becauſe, *every thing is lawful for the good of our country*. The Spartans diſſembled, becauſe they could not give vent to their reſentment.

Themiſtocles deceived the Spartans, and afterwards ſpoke to them with firmneſs.

Undoubtedly

Undoubtedly, there are occaſions where double dealing may be employed to oppoſe ſuperiour power and treachery; but the maxim of Themiſtocles could not juſtify him for uſing deceit and injuſtice. We ceaſe to admire that great man, the inſtant he ceaſes to reſpect thoſe laws which ought to be preſerved inviolable in the affairs of government, as well as in the conduct of individuals; and here we have an opportunity to judge of his politics. After having rebuilt Athens, his wiſh was to make it the firſt city in Greece, and to ſecure to her that command, of which Sparta had ſhewn too great a jealouſy. The building the harbour of Piræus; procuring a decree, which enabled him to add twenty ſhips to the fleet annually, with extraordinary privileges to encourage great numbers of labourers and ſailors; were meaſures which ſpoke his prudence, as the ſea was the natural reſource of Athens; but he did not ſtop there. One day, in a full aſſembly of the people, he required that ſome perſon ſhould be appointed to confer with him, upon a ſcheme of the greateſt conſequence, which was of ſuch a nature as to require ſecreſy; the eyes of the whole aſſembly were inſtantly directed to Ariſtides, upon whoſe judgment they could depend. Themiſtocles communicated to him a project for burning the fleet of the allies, as an infallible means of making Athens the umpire of all Greece. The report which Ariſtides made, was ſuch as virtue ought to dictate. He declared, that nothing could be more advantageous than the deſign of Themiſtocles, but at the ſame time nothing could be more iniquitous. The votes were unanimouſly on the ſide of juſtice.

Unjuſt ſcheme of Themiſtocles to increaſe the power of Athens.

The ſcheme rejected as unjuſt.

Whatever might be the opinion of Ariſtides, the utility of the plan was at leaſt very much to be doubted. The ſtates of Greece, moſt juſtly provoked, would not have heſitated to unite their whole power againſt a perjured city; public hatred muſt have followed, and all her glory been forever annihilated. And what advantage, in the end, could have compenſated for the ruinous effects of ſuch an undertaking? If the proper end of politics

It could have produced nothing but miſchief.

politics be to ſecure the happineſs of nations, that is not to be attained, but by adhering to the rules of morality; for every act of injuſtice leads to misfortune, were it only from its being accompanied with certain infamy.

Themiſtocles prevents the Grecian league from being weakened.

Themiſtocles ſhewed much more prudence in the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, when the Spartans propoſed that all who had not taken arms againſt Xerxes ſhould be excluded from the confederacy. The Theſſalians, Argians, Thebans, and ſeveral others, being of that number, and the league of the Amphictyons including only thirty cities, which in general were but very ſmall, the propoſed decree muſt have annihilated it, or brought it under the ſubjection of two or three of the principal ſtates; but Themiſtocles oppoſed it, and carried his point by the ſoundneſs of his reaſons. He had no deſign but what was particularly intended for the advantage of Athens, as it was the purpoſe of the Spartans to rule in the aſſembly of the Amphictyons; but in this caſe, his opinion was guided by what was for the advantege of all Greece, the public good requiring that the ties of the league ſhould rather be ſtrengthened, than any of the members be ſeparated.

Ariſtides paſſes a popular decree.

On the other hand, the people of Athens became ſeditious, and wanted to deprive the wealthy citizens of the little power which was left to them by the democracy. Ariſtides was of opinion, that it was neceſſary to give way to the popular rage, and paſſed a decree, which laid the government open to citizens of all ranks; becauſe by it the archons might be elected indifferently from among the poor or the rich, ſo that there no longer remained the leaſt check to licentiouſneſs.

Before J.C. 476.

Nevertheleſs, Athens was on the point of carrying from Sparta that ſuperiority which ſhe had long held in Greece; and the only thing wanted for this purpoſe was the merit of ſome of her own citizens, and the faults of a corrupted Spartan. The Greeks had ſent a fleet to free ſome of their allies, who were ſtill under the dominion of the Perſian yoke. Pauſanias commanded in chief, and the Athenians were led by Ariſtides, and Cimon,

ſon

ſon of Miltiades. After the battle of Platea, Pauſanias became inſolent and voluptuous, preſerving only the appearance of the manners of his country. When a reliſh for virtue is loſt, the mind is eaſily diſpoſed to become vicious; and he already projected a piece of treachery, while he ſtill affected to ſerve Greece. His pride, ſeverity and haughtineſs, and the magnificent manners of the Perſians, which he at laſt affected, diſguſted the allies; while the two Athenian generals inſpired them with reſpect and confidence, by a behaviour filled with prudence, juſtice and moderation, which very ſoon made them openly put themſelves under the protection of the Athenians, and give them the command; and Sparta had either the moderation or prudence to renounce it. What glory muſt Athens have loſt, if ſhe had followed the odious advice of Themiſtocles!

Pauſanias becomes corrupted after the battle of Platea.

The command conferred upon the Athenians

Pauſanias, being ſuſpected of carrying on a correſpondence with the enemy, was recalled. He exerciſed the royal authority, as tutor to one of the kings, but by the laws of Sparta he was ſubject to the judgment of the Ephori. One of his letters written to Xerxes was an inconteſtible proof of his guilt, which when he found he could not elude, he fled for ſanctuary to the temple of Minerva. They durſt not force him from that aſylum, but they built up the gate, even his own mother being among the firſt to carry ſtones for that purpoſe; and the Ephori left him to die of hunger. As ſuperſtition inſinuates itſelf every where, the Spartans were very ſoon apprehenſive that they had violated the temple; and having conſulted the oracle of Delphos upon the ſubject, they were commanded to erect two ſtatues in honour of Pauſanias, to appeaſe the offended goddeſs.

Pauſanias recalled and puniſhed.

Some time before this, Themiſtocles had been obliged to ſubmit to the oſtraciſm; and his baniſhment was the fruit of that hatred which he had brought upon himſelf, by rating his ſervices too high: beſides, he deſerved great cenſure; for, by having acquired an immenſe fortune ſince he had the management of public affairs, he proved that his conduct had not been always regulated

Themiſtocles baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, and accuſed afterwards of being an accomplice with Pauſanias

ed by the public intereſt. The Spartans charged him with being an accomplice of Pauſanias, whoſe confident he certainly had been, though he diſapproved his ſchemes. The people of Athens, believing him guilty, wanted to proceed againſt him; but he fled from place to place, till he got to Admetus, king of the Moloſſians, who, notwithſtanding the grounds for their former enmity, generouſly refuſed to deliver him up to his enemies. Some of his zealous friends ſecured the greateſt part of his wealth; however, he had an hundred talents confiſcated, though his original fortune was but three.

Ariſtides charged with the care of the Grecian finances.

On the contrary, a noble ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs heightened the credit and glory of Ariſtides. The quotas furniſhed by the allies, for the ſupport of the war, had occaſioned great murmurings, becauſe they were not put under proper regulations. When the chief command was given to Athens, a new ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed to introduce order into the management of the public treaſure, the right adminiſtration of that being the beſt criterion for judging of the public proſperity. It was therefore determined to fix the taxes in proportion to the revenue of every city, and to have the common treaſury in the iſle of Delos; but the moſt difficult part of this plan was to find a perſon proper for putting it in execution. The ſuffrages were united in favour of Ariſtides, whoſe integrity juſtified a choice ſo honourable for him. He impoſed the taxes, and conducted the finances, like a man who deſerved to be admired equally for his abilities and uprightneſs. He ſucceeded ſo as to give univerſal ſatisfaction (an unheard of prodigy) and to ſupport all the expenſes of the ſtate, with four hundred and ſixty talents, by an economy which ſeemed to double the public treaſure. The taxes increaſed greatly after him, which was naturally to be expected.

The noble diſintereſtedneſs of Ariſtides

That great man continued in his original poverty, while he diſpoſed of all the revenues of Greece. His near relation, Callias, the richeſt man in Athens, was accuſed of miſdemeanor; the proſecutor charged him,

as

as a crime, with leaving Ariſtides and his family in indigence. To wipe away ſuch a reproach, he proteſted that he had often and fruitleſsly preſſed Ariſtides to accept of conſiderable ſums to ſupply his wants, and called upon him as an evidence. Ariſtides confeſſed it was ſo; and added, that ſuperfluous deſires increaſe the wants of men; and that the ſole way to be free from care and trouble, was to be ſatisfied, like him, with what neceſſity only required.

He died in this honourable poverty, and the public were at the expenſe of his funeral, and the ſupport of his family. Plato places him above all that was great in his time, by a ſingle expreſſion: *Ariſtides*, ſaid he, *ſtudied to fill Athens with virtue.* He died poor.

CHAP. V.

Cimon adds to the Glory of Athens.

CIMON, ſon of Miltiades, a worthy pupil of Ariſtides, after him ſucceeded to the greateſt power. He added to the glory of his country, not only by noble actions, but by that gentle temper, and inflexible probity, which has ſo great influence upon the minds of men. In his youth he had expoſed himſelf to the contempt of the people by a life of diſſipation; but his example ſerves to prove, that if the miſconduct of youth is always hurtful, it is ſtill poſſible to make atonement. The inſtructions of the moſt upright man in all Greece having taught him equally the art of governing, and to walk in the paths of true honour, he made daily progreſs in the courſe of virtue. The Athenians were in ſome degree indebted to him for their ſuperiority; and he employed the turbulent diſpoſition of the people againſt their foreign enemies; he conquered a number of places from the Perſians; attacked and deſtroyed their fleet, and that ſame day gained a remarkable victory over their land forces; he drove them out of Thrace, ſubCimon, a worthy ſucceſſor of Ariſtides.

His policy

His ſucceſs againſt the Perſians.

jected the iſland of Thaſus, which had ſtood a ſiege of three years, and ſpread terrour even to the court of the great king.

Themiſtocles found ſhelter with Artaxerxes.

Xerxes had been aſſaſſinated, and his ſon Artaxerxes, ſurnamed Longimanus, was then king. Themiſtocles, being conſtantly perſecuted by the Greeks, and finding no ſafety in Europe, fled to this prince, whoſe confidence he gained by ſwearing an implacable hatred againſt his own country. Plutarch ſays, that the king of Perſia being deſirous, ſome years after, to carry the war into the heart of Attica, Themiſtocles poiſoned himſelf, that he might be freed from a commiſſion which he abhorred. On the contrary, Thucydides, who was almoſt his cotemporary, believed that he died a natural death.*

While we admire him, he deſerved to be cenſured.

Themiſtocles was one of thoſe men, who are equally deſerving of cenſure and praiſe; whoſe genius commands our admiration, while his heart often appears contemptible. He ſaved Greece; it was he who raiſed Athens to power; and a grateful people ſhould have pardoned his offences. An expreſſion of his has been moſt deſervedly cried up. After having beſtowed his daughter upon a poor, but deſerving man, he ſaid, *I love merit without wealth, better than wealth without merit.* But he had amaſſed a ſufficiency to enrich both his daughter and ſon in law.

The Egyptians rebel againſt the Perſians, and are conquered

The Egyptians, having rebelled againſt the Perſians, were aſſiſted by the Athenians, who at firſt led them to conquer. If the Egyptians had been as warlike, and as jealous of their liberties, as the Greeks, they certainly would have taken this opportunity of recovering their reputation; but this war concluded with their being again ſubjected to ſlavery. Though the Perſians were become exceſſively effeminate, they ſtill preſerved a great ſuperiority over that people, and even defeated the Athenians, whoſe numbers were too ſmall. Artaxerxes ſolicited the Spartans to join with him againſt the Athenians;

* Themiſtocles did not die, till after Cimon had been baniſhed and recalled. The connection of ideas made me anticipate a little upon the dates. This is not a chronological abridgment, but a work intended rather to lead to reflections.

nians; but neither his offers, nor their own jealouſy, could make them unfaithful to the league; yet a fatal grudge very ſoon made a cruel diviſion between the two republics.

Repeated misfortunes which Sparta ſuffered, ſerved to diſcover the ſentiments of the Athenians with regard to her. A dreadful earthquake deſtroyed almoſt all their houſes; and the Helots, rebelling, took up arms and joined the Meſſenians, and ſome other enemies of their maſters. In this extremity, the Spartans implored the aſſiſtance of the Athenians; when Ephialtes the orator, one of Pericles's party, who was then riſen to credit, alledged, that far from aſſiſting an ambitious rival, they ought to congratulate themſelves upon her diſgrace, and leave Sparta to be buried under her own ruins. But Cimon had too good an underſtanding, and too much greatneſs of mind, to adopt ſuch falſe policy. Independent of the faith of treaties, the common intereſt of Greece, and the principles of honour and generoſity, he ſaw that Sparta was a neceſſary reſtraint upon the licentiouſneſs of the Athenians. He ſtrongly oppoſed the ſpecious pretences of ambition, and plainly ſhewed that they ought not to *ſuffer Greece to be crippled, nor Athens to be without a counterpoiſe*; in the end he prevailed, and, taking the charge of the commiſſion upon himſelf, carried them aſſiſtance, and diſcharged his duty like a true patriot.

Before J. C. 470.

Misfortunes of Sparta.

Cimon determines the Athenians to aſſiſt them.

Some time after, when the Spartans had the ſame enemies upon their hands, they applied again to the Athenians, and Cimon led ſome troops to their aſſiſtance; but from an injurious diſtruſt they were ſent back by the Spartans, an inſult that prodigiouſly enraged the Athenian populace, and which they avenged upon the moſt innocent and moſt reſpectable of men. Cimon was baniſhed by the faction of Pericles, as if he had ſupported Sparta againſt the intereſt of his own country. (In the following chapter we ſhall ſee by what means Pericles arrived at power.) War being very ſoon kindled between the two republics, the illuſtrious exile

War between the two republics.

Cimon unjuſtly baniſhed.

came with great zeal to offer his ſervices to the Athenian army, but they commanded him to withdraw. His friends, to the number of a hundred, who were ſuſpected with him, deſirous to diſpel the unjuſt ſuſpicions, and animated by his exhortations, threw away their lives in the firſt battle. The Athenians were victorious at Tanagra in Bœotia, a very melancholy prelude of the horrours produced by diſcord.

Cimon recalled.

The prejudices againſt Cimon were diſpelled, becauſe the Athenians became every day more and more ſenſible of what they ſuffered by his abſence; and he was recalled, after having been for five years baniſhed, his rival Pericles moving for the decree. Theſe examples of patriotiſm, at leaſt now and then, repaired the errours committed by the paſſions. The firſt care of this worthy citizen was to conclude a truce with the Spartans, after which he reſumed his excellent ſyſtem of directing the attention of the Athenians againſt a foreign enemy, either with a deſign to increaſe their power by noble and lawful means, or to fix their reſtleſs diſpoſitions, and prevent their cabals. He gained new victories over the Perſians; and completed the conqueſt of the iſle of Cyprus, that he might paſs into Egypt, where the enemy had gained conſiderable advantages. The throne of Cyprus ſeemed at this time to be threatened with an approaching revolution.

He put an end to the civil war, and employed the Athenians againſt the Perſians.

Before J. C. 449.

Artaxerxes had the prudence to ſue for peace, and a treaty was concluded upon the following terms, *viz.* That all the Grecian cities in Aſia ſhould be free, and have the power of chooſing whatever laws and government were moſt agreeable to them; that the Perſians ſhould be debarred from ſailing between the Euxine ſea and the coaſts of Pamphylia; that none of their generals ſhould approach theſe ſeas, nearer than a march of three days; and that the Athenians ſhould not commit any hoſtilities in the king's territories. The Median war (that was the name which was given to it) had laſted fifty one years, from the taking and deſtroying of Sardis. In the ordinary courſe of human affairs, Greece

Treaty of Artaxerxes with the Greeks.

End of the Median war.

ſhould

ſhould have been cruſhed; but ſhe proved victorious; which makes it highly worthy of our attention, to obſerve, that this prodigy was more the effect of genius and prudence, than of valour. Miltiades did a great deal at Marathon, and Pauſanias at Platea; but the counſels of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, and Cimon, effected much more. The marine, and the finances, being intruſted to their management, became a fertile ſource of public proſperity.

Death of Cimon; his virtue in proſperity.

The death of Cimon was an irreparable loſs. Rich and diſintereſted, his wealth enabled him to ſerve his fellow citizens, without infecting the goodneſs of his heart. His gardens were open at all times to the people; his table, which was plentiful and frugal, was alſo open to the poor, as well as to his friends; yet, far from ſeeking by that means to gain the good will of the people, he conſtantly declared againſt the evils attendant upon democracy. His juſtice and moderation towards the Spartans were imputed to him as a crime; but this was the language of the paſſions.

BOOK THIRD.

From the Government of PERICLES, to the Reign of PHILIP, King of MACEDON.

CHAP. I.

The Government of Pericles till the time of the Peloponneſian War.

Character of Pericles

ATHENS produced a genius as extenſive, as ſolid, and more improved by ſtudy, than any one of thoſe who had contributed ſo much to the glory of the ſtate; but much more dangerous, if he abuſed his talents. I ſpeak of Pericles; a man who was illuſtrious by his birth, of an exquiſite taſte, wonderful ſagacity, a great orator, a great politician, and ſometimes a great patriot; who nevertheleſs did much harm to his country, by yielding to his paſſion for engroſſing all the power into his own hands.

His eloquence perfected by philoſophy.

Eloquence, that art which is ſometimes heavenly, ſometimes deſtructive, according to the uſe for which it is employed, was the chief inſtrument by which he accompliſhed his purpoſes. Educated by the philoſopher Anaxagoras, he had learned of him to acknowledge a Supreme Being, to contemn idle fears and the fantaſtical puerilities of ſuperſtition, to improve his ſtyle by making it rather nervous than verboſe, and to acquire a powerful energy, which could not be produced but by a refined judgment. From the time that the orator's pulpit ſerved as a field for whoever had a deſire to ſhine and acquire reputation, Athens was filled with eloquent ſpeakers; but no one could ſubdue the multitude by perſuaſion, like Pericles.

His policy to acquire power.

He ſtudied man above all other ſubjects; he was perfectly acquainted with the genius of the Athenians, and all the ſprings by which an artful politician could govern

govern them. Obſerving that they were ſo exceſſively fond of liberty as to become jealous of the reputation of their greateſt men, and baniſh them at the very time their ſervices ought to have placed them in the moſt reſpectable light, he affected at firſt not to intermeddle in public affairs, to make his appearance in the city but ſeldom, and to be only ſolicitous of military honours. Some time after, when Cimon, who was the only rival with whom he had to contend, was employed in ſome military enterpriſe abroad, he ſeized the favourable moment to ſtep forth; and, concealing his real diſpoſition, flattered the people, and aſſumed the character of a ſtateſman, renouncing ſociety and all other pleaſures, to dedicate his whole time to public affairs.

He ſeldom appeared at the public aſſemblies

More artful than Themiſtocles, he knew how to guard againſt the diſlike of the populace, by avoiding their public aſſemblies, except when his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, employing his friends and agents to ſpeak for him. The leſs pains he took to make a parade of his abilities, the more he was applauded when he thought proper to diſplay them.

He corrupts the Athenians by hurtful prodigality.

His fortune was not ſufficient to permit him to follow the example of Cimon in his liberalities, though it is the beſt method to ſecure the attachment of friends and followers; he therefore ſupplied the defect at the expenſe of his country. He not only divided the conquered lands among the citizens, but diſtributed the public money among them, to ſupport games and ſhews, as alſo for the diſcharge of thoſe duties which were ordained by the laws, a ſalary being appointed for thoſe who aſſiſted at the tribunals, or the aſſemblies of the people; and it may be ſaid, that the Perſians had not done ſo much miſchief to the Athenians, by laying waſte their country. The finances diſſipated in uſeleſs profuſion; the manners of the people corrupted by a reliſh for pleaſures, and an avidity for money; a rage for public ſhews ſtimulated by invincible attractions; idleneſs cheriſhed by reſources hitherto unknown; the licentiouſneſs of the popular aſſemblies increaſed by the frequent

quent meeting of a craving multitude, and the duties of a citizen debaſed by venality, were the produce of the ambitious policy of Pericles.

He weakens the Areopagus

He did not ſtop there; but as his lot had not procured him any of thoſe offices which lead to a ſeat in the Areopagus, that illuſtrious tribunal became the object of his hatred, doubtleſs becauſe he was afraid of its juſtice and authority. He ſtirred up the people, whoſe motions he directed againſt it, and accompliſhed his purpoſe by depriving it of the moſt important cauſes. Athens forgot her laws, and the government was changed at the pleaſure of one man. Cimon was alive at that time, but employed in the war againſt the Perſians, and at his return ſincerely lamented this ſubverſion of principles; frequently repeating, according to his cuſtom, that the like was never ſeen in Sparta; he was therefore looked upon as the enemy of Athens, and ſacrificed, by means of the oſtraciſm, to the corrupter of the ſtate.

He adorns Athens with noble buildings.

After the death of Cimon, the authority of Pericles continually increaſed. Maſter of the public finances, he laviſhed them in buildings, ſtatues, and decorations, calculated to pleaſe the people, and to make Athens the moſt beautiful city in the world. It was at that time that thoſe maſter pieces of architecture and ſculpture, which have been the models of good taſte, and preſerved all their beauty for ſeveral ages, were erected under the direction of Phidias. Monuments which were as much ſuperiour to thoſe of Egypt, as true taſte is ſuperiour to what is gigantic.

Complaints of the allies on the diſſipation of the public treaſure.

The allies complained loudly that the common treaſure, which was intended for the defence of the country, and to ſupport the war againſt the barbarians, was devoted to the embelliſhment of a ſingle city. They had juſtice on their ſide, but Pericles had the powers of rhetoric and the approbation of the people. To give ear to him, the money belonged to the Athenians, ſince they fulfilled their engagements, and provided for the expenſes which were neceſſary in ſupport of the confederacy. Athens, being plentifully ſupplied with arms

and

and ſhipping, ought to deſerve the admiration of future ages by employing her wealth to noble purpoſes, and at the ſame time to provide for the ſuſtenance of her citizens, to which nothing contributes more than the execution of public works, that rouſe the activity of artiſts, and employ genius and bodily ſtrength, producing from the ſame ſource, both ornament and abundance.

Pericles in this unpardonable.

The weakneſs of theſe arguments are evident at the firſt glance. Ought the money which was levied from the allies, for the ſupport of the league, to be diverted to the uſe of Athens? Was not its deſtination already fixed? If there was an overplus, ought it not to be employed for the general benefit? Pericles, far from reducing the taxes, increaſed them a third—and for what purpoſe? Undoubtedly to ſupport theſe oſtentatious expenſes. Three thouſand ſeven hundred talents, which they coſt, was an enormous ſum, compared with the taxes levied in Attica, which, according to Demoſthenes, in his third Philippic, were reduced to a hundred and thirty talents. By diſſipating the public treaſure, the ſtate might be expoſed to misfortunes of very doubtful conſequences: but, what was infinitely worſe, their ancient ſimplicity of manners was totally annihilated. Pericles might have deſerved the ſame encomiums which Colbert did in France, if he had been at the head of affairs in a rich monarchy; but, as the miniſter of a republic, he deſerved to be cenſured. The world will judge from facts.

716,875*l.* Engliſh.

25,187*l.* 10*ſ.*

His diſintereſtedneſs praiſed by Plutarch.

Plutarch very much praiſes the diſintereſtedneſs, frugality, and domeſtic economy, of Pericles. To be ſure theſe are very reſpectable qualities, but by no means vindicate his government. Beſides, if he did not add one farthing to his private fortune, how ſhall we account for what is related by the ſame hiſtorian? He informs us that Pericles, upon hearing the outcry which was raiſed againſt him, offered to pay the whole expenſe of the public works out of his own funds, upon condition that there ſhould be no inſcriptions put upon them except his name; but if it had been poſſible, Athenian vanity

He offers to pay for the public works at his own expenſe; the condition.

vanity would not conſent to it, and the people cried out, that he might ſtill continue to draw from the public treaſury.

Pericles entire maſter of the republic.

The rich ſet up a powerful rival againſt him in the perſon of Thucydides, the brother in law of Cimon. It was neceſſary that the one or the other muſt yield; and Thucydides, being the weakeſt, was obliged to ſubmit to the ſeverity of the oſtraciſm. From that time, Pericles ſet up a ſort of regal power, with which he ſo governed the people, that, without paying the ſame regard to their whims as formerly, he ſtill preſerved an equal influence over their deliberations. A high reputation for probity ſtrengthened that aſcendency which his eloquence and policy had given him over the minds of the people; to which he added military glory, having undertaken ſome expeditions, in which he ſucceeded by being always attentive to ſpare the blood of his fellow citizens, whom he ſaid he wiſhed to render immortal.

His friends accuſed with an intention of ruining him.

Such glory, and ſo much power, added to the hatred of thoſe people who envied Pericles, and they endeavoured to ruin him. They began with falling upon his friends; of whom the firſt was Phidias, who was accuſed of having robbed the public, particularly in making a magnificent ſtatue of Minerva: but he proved his innocence; for on weighing the gold, after taking it from the ſtatue, it was found that he had faithfully employed the whole that had been delivered to him for the execution of the work; however, this did not prevent his being dragged to priſon, where he remained till he died.*

Proceedings againſt Phidias, Aſpaſia and Anaxagoras.

The famous Aſpaſia of Miletus, a woman of an elevated genius, whom Pericles tenderly loved, and at laſt married; a woman ſo deſerving, that Socrates prided himſelf on having been her diſciple; was accuſed of impiety and debauchery. It was with difficulty that her eloquence, and the tears of Pericles, could ſave her. An

inſidious

* M. Millot is miſtaken; for it was not on this occaſion, nor till a long time after, that Phidias was impriſoned. Vid. Pauſan.

inſidious law was paſſed, by which it was decreed, that whoever ſhould attempt to explain the phenomena of nature, contrary to the religion of the country, that is to ſay, without the interpoſition of the divinities of the Greek mythology, ſhould be impeached. Of courſe, Anaxagoras, who was the firſt that from reaſon proved the exiſtence of God, was ſummoned as being guilty of impiety; and Pericles, deſpairing of being able to vindicate him, prevailed with him to fly. All the diſciples of that great man were accuſed of the ſame crime; but it was leſs againſt him, than againſt Pericles, that the blow was aimed.

Abſurd law againſt the philoſophers.

At laſt the accuſers, emboldened by ſucceſs, attacked Pericles himſelf, as an embezzler of the public treaſure, and obtained an order to compel him to give in his accounts. While he was preparing them, Alcibiades, who was then but young, one day ſaid, *that he ought rather to think of not giving them:* and indeed Pericles took care to get rid of that buſineſs by the Peloponneſian war, which, ſome ſay, he then deſiſted from oppoſing; while others alledge, that he provoked it on account of the ſituation of his own affairs. Plutarch accuſes thoſe people of malice, who loaded him with ſuch infamy; but Thucydides, whoſe authority is more to be depended on, aſſures us, that the integrity of his adminiſtration placed him out of the reach of calumny. But when we reflect upon the character of Pericles, upon his ambition and politics, and thoſe meaſures which created him ſo many enemies, it ſeems impoſſible to clear him of all ſuſpicion. As Plutarch obſerves *(de Herodoti Malign.)* it is extremely raſh to rake into the hearts of great men to aſſign motives of their conduct, and to give an unfavourable turn to what will bear a good conſtruction. He applies this true maxim to Pericles, from a ſuppoſition that his paſt conduct proceeded ſolely from his zeal for the public good; but in this he contradicts himſelf. We are ſeldom miſtaken, when we judge of the actions of men by their character and principles.

Pericles accuſed. He is ordered to give in his accounts.

He gets rid of this affair by the Peloponneſian war.

However,

Grievances complained of by the allies.

However, the Peloponneſian war, one of the moſt remarkable events of this hiſtory, was brought about by different cauſes. The Athenians, proud of their ſucceſs and power, and forgetting that moderation which procured them the command, inſpired all the cities of Greece with jealouſy and hatred. They had ruined the Samians, ſubjected the Eginetæ, prohibited the Megarians from being admitted into their harbours or markets, alienated the Corinthians by aſſiſting the Corcyræans with whom they were at war; they had ſubjected Potidea in Macedonia, a Corinthian colony, to pay a tribute; by their tyranny, forced its inhabitants to rebel; and were beſieging it with great vigour. It was upon this occaſion that Socrates ſhewed himſelf as great a warrior as he was an eminent philoſopher; he was admired as a hero, and ſet an example to the whole army. Here he ſaved the life of his favourite Alcibiades.

The affair is debated at Sparta.

The Corinthians, and other malcontents, applied to Sparta, repreſenting the ambition and injuſtice of the Athenians, and the neceſſity of oppoſing them; that they had threatened the liberties of all Greece, purſuing their purpoſes with incredible activity, while the Spartans, with too much confidence and indolence, permitted that power to increaſe, which was ready to deſtroy them. The Athenian ambaſſadour, in defence of his country, replied, that the Greeks themſelves had appointed her to the chief command; that they ought not to forget the ſervices ſhe had done the league; that nothing but a baleful ſpirit of independence could have excited theſe complaints againſt her; but, however, if they diſregarded the moſt ſolemn engagements, and ſhould preſume to attack Athens, they would find her ready to defend herſelf. He inſinuated, what would have been thought extraordinary even in a monarchy, that in all times the ſtrongeſt governed, and it was the law of nature.

Pericles determines the Athenians to go to war.

This anſwer was by no means ſatisfactory; and all the allies reſolved to take up arms, though Archidamus, king of Sparta, propoſed gentler meaſures; however, a negotiation was ſet on foot to gain time. Several arti-

cles

cles were demanded of the Athenians, particularly to raiſe the ſiege of Potidea. Pericles, in the critical ſituation in which he found himſelf, inſiſted much upon the honour of his country; boaſted of her reſources*; ſhewed the dangers of tamely yielding, and prevailed ſo far as to have the propoſals rejected; and war becoming inevitable, he formed a general plan of operations. His ſyſtem was, to be ſparing of the lives of his fellow citizens, but to diſregard their country being laid waſte; not to hazard a battle againſt ſuperiour numbers; to provide for the ſafety of the city, and to dedicate his chief attention to the marine, which was the principal ſtrength of the Athenians.

CHAP. II.

Beginning of the Peloponneſian War.—Alcibiades.—The Athenians defeated in Sicily.

THE hiſtory of almoſt the whole Peloponneſian war, which has been handed down to us by Thucydides, one of the beſt writers and ableſt generals of antiquity, will ſupply military men with a number of intereſting details, in the courſe of a war which continued twenty ſeven years, but which cannot be admitted into this work, as they would prove a fruitleſs trouble to other readers. Before J. C. 431.

Almoſt all Peloponneſus joined with the Spartans, beſides the Phocians, Bœotians, Locrians, Megarians, &c. ſo that their forces amounted to ſixty thouſand men; while the Athenian army was reduced to about fifteen thouſand, without reckoning ſixteen thouſand, of all ages, who remained for the defence Strength of the two parties.

* According to Diodorus Siculus, he ſhewed that there were ſtill ſix thouſand talents † in the treaſury, beſides immenſe wealth ſhut up in temples, and in the poſſeſſion of individuals. Their army, already on foot, was twelve thouſand ſtrong, beſides garriſons, and the troops of their colonies: their fleet conſiſted of three hundred ſail, and might be eaſily augmented. It muſt be owned, that Pericles had not ſacrificed every thing to luxury.

† 1,162,500*l.*

The Athenians retire into the city.

fence of the city. It was not poſſible that Pericles could keep the field with ſo few troops; and it required all his eloquence to perſuade the Athenians to leave their lands, as they had done at the time of the Perſian invaſion, and to remain ſhut up within walls, while the enemy carried devaſtation to their very gates. According to the genius of the Spartan nation, Archidamus advanced but ſlowly; Attica was laid waſte, but the Athenian galleys did no leſs miſchief in Peloponneſus. A proof of the uſefulneſs of the ſciences was given at that time; otherwiſe an eclipſe of the ſun would have diſheartened the troops, who were ſtruck with ſuperſtitious terrours, if Pericles had not explained the cauſe of the phenomenon.

Eclipſe explained by Pericles

Funeral oration.

When the campaign was over, Pericles was ordered to pronounce the funeral oration; which was an Athenian cuſtom, unqueſtionably more uſeful than that of celebrating the memory of the great, who may have deſerved to be forgotten, or perhaps condemned.

Before J. C. 430.

A dreadful plague raged in Attica. Notwithſtanding the ſilence of Thucydides upon the ſubject, it is ſaid that this peſtilence employed the whole attention of the famous phyſician Hippocrates, who rejected the ſplendid offers of a great king, and generouſly dedicated his ſervices to the preſervation of his countrymen. However, this dreadful ſcourge of the human race did not put a ſtop to the war; and the minds of the people being ſoured by misfortunes, they were angry with Pericles, and accuſed him of being the author of all their ſufferings. He diſplayed his uſual eloquence; he repeated to them the impoſing names of glory and of liberty; but all his reaſons could not calm the vexation of a volatile people. He was condemned to pay a fine, and deprived of the command; but they inſtantly repented, begged his pardon, and prevailed with him to reſume the reins of government. Such was the character of the Athenians.

The war continued notwithſtanding the plague

Pericles condemned and reſtored.

Death of Pericles.

This ſingular man, who, by his aſtoniſhing abilities, had fixed the Athenian levity for forty years, died ſoon after

after of the plague. Nine trophies, which were the monuments of ſo many victories; the great progreſs which was made in arts and ſciences, in commerce and navigation; furniſh ample matter for his encomium. He ſaid, when dying, that what he eſteemed the greateſt glory of his life, was, *that he had never made one of his countrymen wear mourning*. But did he not mortally wound his country? How could Plutarch be ſo laviſh in praiſing him for his virtues, when he has repreſented him as the corrupter of the morals of the people? It is ſaid, that he was ſo oppreſſed with buſineſs at the cloſe of his life, that he neglected Anaxagoras ſo much, as to make the philoſopher retire to die in deſpair; but Pericles, being informed of it, flew to conſole him, entreated him to live, and repreſented to him how much he had occaſion for his advice. *They who require the light of a lamp*, replied Anaxagoras, *take care to ſupply it with oil.*

Complaint of Anaxagoras againſt him.

If Pericles was the author of the Peloponneſian war, the implacable rivalſhip of Sparta and Athens was its firſt cauſe. When hatred is irritated by hoſtilities, the effects muſt be dreadful, as war between republics is marked with a character of ſingular inveteracy. The Abbé Mably obſerves, "That monarchies may forget "injuries, becauſe the people are ſtamped with the "character of the prince, who may be neither revenge-"ful, ambitious, nor jealons; but in ſuch republics as "thoſe of Greece, what magiſtrate can oppoſe or direct "the torrent of public opinion, where the multitude "govern? The Greeks could have no other rule but "that of their paſſions."

Inveterate hatred of the two republics againſt each other

From ſuch cauſe, we ſee Potidea holding out a three years ſiege, and the ſtarved inhabitants feeding on human fleſh. Sparta forgot her honour to gratify her revenge, and for that purpoſe ſued for the aſſiſtance and friendſhip of the king of Perſia. Both republics put to death ambaſſadours, whom they ſtopped upon the road; as if they expected, by their ſavage cruelty, to exclude every poſſible means of bringing about a reconciliation. Sieges, battles, and perpetual incurſions, preſented nothing

War carried on with the greateſt cruelty by both parties.

thing to view but a ſucceſſion of horrid barbarities.

Athens governed by Cleon.

The Athenians were governed by Cleon, a worthleſs man, and inſolent orator, who thought of nothing but to inſpire the people with violent reſolutions. The Spartans, who were naturally leſs moderate than the Athenians, yielded to the influence of their character; and,

Cruelty of the Spartans to the Helotes.

dreading an inſurrection of the Helotes, ſelected two thouſand of the braveſt among them, who had done the beſt ſervice in the courſe of the war, and, after crowning them with flowers, made them walk in proceſſion, on pretence of recompenſing them for their fidelity; and theſe wretched people immediately diſappeared, having undoubtedly fallen the victims of atrocious treachery. It is not to be expected that the enemy were treated with more humanity.

An uſeleſs truce, after a war of ten years.

The war continued to rage with the ſame fury for about ten years, with nearly the ſame ſucceſs, and the like loſſes, on both ſides. It is impoſſible but ſuch accumulated ſufferings muſt have made both nations deſirous of peace; but the declaimer Cleon, and Braſidas the Spartan general, prevented propoſals from being offered; the laſt from his thirſt after fame, and the other from the heat of pride and arrogance. However, they both died; upon which, a ſuſpenſion of arms took place; and a truce, which was to continue fifty years,

Before J. C. 422.

was ſoon after agreed upon. An appearance of concord ſeemed to ſpring up at that time; but hatred was rooted in their hearts; and treachery, inſtead of equity, with a boundleſs ambition, had full poſſeſſion of their minds.

Alcibiades from ambition deſirous to renew the war.

A young man of an illuſtrious family, remarkable for his fine figure and great wealth, equally diſtinguiſhed for his abilities and his vices; ſometimes virtuous, when he attended to the inſtructions of his friend and maſter Socrates, but almoſt always hurried into diſgraceful irregularities when he yielded to his own inclinations, or followed the advice of his flatterers; yet capable of aſſuming all ſorts of forms and characters, to profit by critical conjunctures; in one word, Alcibiades, who aimed at the government of Athens, and was naturally

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an enemy of peace, reſting all his ambitious projects upon war and diſturbance, and ſkilful in managing the temper of the people, endeavoured to rekindle the flame which was not entirely extinguiſhed, and could not fail to ſucceed. Conſcious that the licentiouſneſs of his life expoſed him to be condemned, he one day thought proper to cut off the tail of one of his moſt beautiful dogs. It was immediately talked of all over Athens, and upon being told that he was univerſally blamed for having diſfigured the creature—*So much the better*, replied he, laughing, *I would have the Athenians ſpeak of my treatment of the dog, that they may be ſilent about the reſt of my conduct.* That volatile people were ſeriouſly engaged in trifles, which diverted their attention from things of the utmoſt importance.

His ſkill in deceiving the people.

Both Sparta and Athens having complained of ſome violations of the treaty, Alcibiades took the opportunity of breaking it altogether. He cauſed Nicias, who was a very cautious general and a worthy citizen, with ſentiments perfectly pacific, to be ſuſpected by the people. He deceived the Spartan ambaſſadours, who were ſent with full powers to accommodate matters; and, having perſuaded them to tell a falſehood, cauſed them to be diſmiſſed as impoſtors. However, Nicias had a ſtrong party, and the people were divided between him and his rival, when it was propoſed to determine the diſpute by having recourſe to the oſtraciſm; but Hyperbolus, an impudent, worthleſs man, railed againſt both of them, that he might get the power into his own hands; upon which both factions joined againſt him, and baniſhed him. From that time the oſtraciſm, which ſeemed to be debaſed by being employed on ſuch a ſubject as Hyperbolus, was entirely laid aſide. We formerly obſerved, that it was not intended as a puniſhment, but a precaution againſt the too great power of the principal citizens.

He makes them break the treaty.

Hyperbolus baniſhed.

Oſtraciſm laid aſide.

If Alcibiades had been ſatisfied with cheriſhing the hatred of the Athenians againſt the Spartans, he might, perhaps, have prolonged the misfortunes of his country,

A project of Alcibiades againſt Sicily adopted, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Nicias.

without expoſing them to the greateſt miſery; but this fiery genius formed the moſt daring projects, even while he was ſunk in the boſom of pleaſure. He planned the conqueſt of Sicily, as a prelude to that of Carthage, from whence it would be eaſy to come and take poſſeſſion of Peloponneſus. Such chimeras were the produce of his fertile imagination, and by his eloquence he perſuaded the Athenians to adopt them. In vain did Nicias attempt to convince them of the raſhneſs of ſuch projects, and the dangers to which they were expoſed in purſuing uncertain conqueſts, while ſurrounded with enemies; he ſhewed how trifling were the pretences for engaging in this war, but all to no purpoſe. Becauſe the Leontines and Egeſtans, two ſtates of Sicily, complained of the Syracuſans, and implored the aſſiſtance of the Athenians (for there was no other reaſonable pretence alledged) muſt Athens ſacrifice her own ſafety and intereſt, in a cauſe in which ſhe had no concern? Muſt ſhe abandon her own country to the Spartans, to go and fight in Sicily? The ſound reaſonings of Nicias were not ſufficient to prevail againſt the beauty, eloquence and prodigalities of Alcibiades, which captivated not only the youth, but the people in general, ſo that they determined to take arms againſt Syracuſe; and Alcibiades, with Nicias and Lamachus, were charged with this expedition. The Athenians had conceived the thought of making a conqueſt of Sicily in the time of Pericles; but he was a man of too much ſenſe, and too great influence, not to diſſuade them from the attempt.

Before J. C. 415.

Almoſt at the inſtant of their departure, an unforeſeen accident filled all Athens with unlucky reports. The ſtatues of Mercury were mutilated, without its being poſſible to diſcover by whom it was done. Whether it was a premeditated ſcheme, or the occaſion preſented the means, the enemies of Alcibiades took the opportunity of accuſing him of this crime, or ſome other of the ſame kind; but being ſupported by the army, he ſhewed a great deal of ſteadineſs, and demanded an imme-

Alcibiades accuſed of impiety before he ſet out.

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diate deciſion. His accuſers were not willing to conſent, as circumſtances were not yet ſufficiently favourable; they therefore put off the affair, on pretence that the embarkation could not be delayed. The fleet at laſt ſet ſail, with all the apparatus for a triumph.

He is recalled from Sicily to ſubmit to a trial.

Syracuſe, a Corinthian colony, which had proſpered greatly by commerce, was at firſt alarmed by the ſtorm which threatened them, but they prepared afterwards to make a vigorous defence; and the miſunderſtanding which ſubſiſted among the Athenian generals gave them time to make the neceſſary preparations. The folly of the people of Athens contributed equally to ſerve them; for their army was ſcarce landed in Sicily, when Alcibiades was commanded to return, that he might be tried for impiety. His enemies had gained ground of him in his abſence, and, aſſuming the maſk of religion, expected to ſucceed at the tribunal of a people ſo unſteady and ſuperſtitious. Alcibiades, accuſed of impiety, ſuddenly loſt all that merit in the eyes of the Athenians, with which they had been formerly delighted. He durſt not encounter the danger, and, eſcaping from his conductors, fled to Sparta. There he complied with the auſtere manners of that country; and, declaring himſelf the mortal enemy of Athens, acquired the love of that people, who formerly hated him. The Athenians ſentenced him to ſuffer death for contumacy, and gave him up to the execrations of the prieſts. A prieſteſs, named Theano, refuſed to miniſter to revenge, ſaying, *I am a prieſteſs to bleſs, not to curſe.* The accuſation againſt Alcibiades, perhaps ill founded, though he might inwardly contemn the popular religion, was at leaſt exceſſively indiſcreet, for it provoked againſt his country the man in the world the moſt capable of doing it an injury. On hearing that he was ſentenced to die, he cried, *But I ſhall let them know that I am ſtill alive*; and he kept his word.

He fled to Sparta, and declared himſelf the enemy of Athens.

Saying of the prieſteſs Theano.

His lively courage, and the reſources of his genius, might have been of great uſe in carrying on the raſh expedition which he made the Athenians undertake.

Nicias behaved ill at the ſiege of Syracuſe.

Some very extraordinary accidents, but which he might have brought about, would have been neceſſary to make them ſucceed; but the many uncertainties, and the ſlow timidity of Nicias, augmented the difficulty of the undertaking. He diſcouraged his troops, and increaſed the obſtacles they had to encounter, by conſtantly repeating that they had done wrong in entering into this war; however, they laid ſiege to Syracuſe. If the curious chooſe to ſee the particular hiſtory of this ſiege, which was written at full length by Thucydides, they will find it tranſcribed by M. Rollin. The Syracuſans, enervated by peace and opulence, muſt have yielded, if the aſſiſtance which they ſolicited from Sparta and Corinth had not very critically arrived to preſerve them. Their applications were warmly ſupported by Alcibiades; and his counſels contributed very much to the diſtreſs of his native country.

Before J. C. 413.

The beſieged were preparing to ſurrender, when Gylippus, who commanded the ſuccours from Sparta, arrived to revive their hopes, and to animate them with freſh courage. Nicias had loſt his colleague Lamachus, and, having the ſole command, was terrified at the approach of new dangers; he therefore applied to be ſuperſeded, and by his letters ſhewed the hazardous ſituation of the troops. Demoſthenes and Eurymedon were ſent as colleagues, with a reinforcement, to ſtrengthen his army. The firſt of theſe was of a bold, impetuous temper, and, openly contemning the tardineſs of Nicias, raſhly engaged the enemy in the night, and loſt two thouſand men in the field; ſo that the fatigue, diſeaſes and deſpondency of the army, as well as the danger to which Athens was expoſed by being kept in blockade by the Spartans, all together contributed to inſpire them with a deſire of raiſing the ſiege.

The ſiege raiſed by the Spartans.

At that time, they might have eaſily made their retreat, without being expoſed to any danger, as the enemy could not ſuſpect ſuch an intention; but an eclipſe of the moon diſconcerted the ſcheme. That phenomenon appeared ſupernatural; and Nicias, from a childiſh ſuperſtition,

The Athenians defeated before Syracuſe.

ſuperſtition, delayed their departure, till Gylippus and the Syracuſans had time to prepare for an engagement; and the Athenians, being beaten both by ſea and land, were entirely defeated. Eurymedon fell in the field; Nicias and Demoſthenes ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, after having given fruitleſs proofs of their courage. According to Thucydides, they were cruelly and treacherouſly put to death, though Gylippus deſired they might be ſent to Sparta; but other writers ſay, that they killed themſelves in priſon. The Syracuſans were revenged by the barbarities they committed; and ſuch was the advantage Athens derived from this enterpriſe!

General idea of the government of Sicily.

Before we purſue the order of events, we ſhall take notice, that Sicily was in part peopled by colonies from Greece, and till it regained its liberty had been governed like Greece by a number of petty tyrants. At the time of the invaſion by Xerxes, Gelon was abſolute in Syracuſe, and the Greeks implored his aſſiſtance; but, being refuſed the command of their army, was content to defend Sicily againſt the Carthaginians, who had been perſuaded by Xerxes to attack him; and he defeated them moſt gloriouſly. By his active worth and eminent ſervices, Gelon deſerved that the Syracuſans ſhould voluntarily chooſe him king. He animated them with a ſpirit for agriculture by his example, appearing frequently at the head of the labourers; and at his death he was regretted as the father of his country. His brother Hiero, who ſucceeded him, notwithſtanding his being exceedingly vicious, attracted the praiſes of the poets, whom he encouraged, but more particularly Pindar, whoſe lyre ſhould not have been venal, ſince it was worthy of celebrating the greateſt heroes. Thraſybulus, another brother, but ſtill more vicious than Hiero, ſucceeded to the throne, but was expelled becauſe of his tyranny, about four hundred and ſixty years before the Chriſtian era.

Gelon, Hiero and Thraſybulus, ancient kings of Sicily.

The Syracuſans, having ſhaken off the yoke, freed the reſt of Sicily, and introduced a popular government. Their *petaliſm*, which was a bad imitation of the Athenian

nian *oſtraciſm*, continued but a ſhort time, as it deprived the ſtate of its beſt citizens. This is not the proper place to ſpeak of the ſucceſſion of tyrants who reigned in Sicily. It was not till about ſixty years after, that Syracuſe was enſlaved by Dionyſius.

CHAP. III.

Continuation of the Peloponneſian War.—Athens taken by Lyſander.

Before J. C. 412. Conſternation at Athens.

THE Athenians were ſtill ſo infatuated with chimerical hopes, that the firſt perſon who brought the intelligence of their army being defeated in Sicily was ſentenced to be put to death; but very ſoon their vain expectations diſappeared, their doubts vaniſhed, and they ſunk into the deepeſt conſternation. Their danger was the more imminent, as the Spartans, by the advice of Alcibiades, had fortified Decelia in the neighbourhood of Athens, from whence they could lay waſte the whole country of Attica, from one end to the other, without interruption; and if it had not been for the uſual tardineſs of the Spartan government, Athens, loſt in amazement, would probably have fallen a prey to her enemies; however, the moment of cruſhing her was let ſlip, ſhe began to breathe, and profited by a careful attention to the reſources which were ſtill left in her power.

The tardineſs of the Spartans left her time to recollect herſelf.

A council of old men was choſen to examine into the ſtate of affairs, and upon the report made by them, the people were to determine. It was found neceſſary to recover the finances and the marine. A thouſand talents ſtill remained in the public treaſury from the beginning of the war, which had been prohibited from being touched by a decree formerly paſſed, but, upon the preſent occaſion, a new decree made it lawful; and experience ſhews the great advantage of having funds in reſerve to anſwer emergencies. The ruin of ſtates has been

been often precipitated by want of economy and of attention in this reſpect.

From the imprudent uſe ſhe had made of power, and her preſent misfortunes, Athens loſt the greateſt part of her allies. A number of cities, and even the Ionians, united with Sparta, chiefly by the intrigues of Alcibiades, who, breathing nothing but vengeance againſt his country, ſtirred up theſe ſtates to rebel againſt her: but Agis, king of Sparta, whoſe wife he had debauched under a maſk of virtue, endeavoured to render him odious to the people: beſides, the very high credit which he had acquired, excited the hatred and jealouſy of the principal citizens. Sparta retained only a ſhadow of her former love of juſtice; every idea of gratitude was loſt in cabals and intrigues, and an order was diſpatched to Ionia to put Alcibiades to death, at the very time that he was greatly adding to his former ſervices; but being informed of their intentions, he fled to Perſia for an aſylum.

Ingratitude of Sparta to Alcibiades.

That empire was continually weakened by court revolutions, which are the never failing attendants of deſpotic government. Artaxerxes (Longimanus) was ſucceeded by Xerxes, his only lawful ſon, who was very ſoon aſſaſſinated by his natural brother Sogdianus. A few months after, Ochus, another ſon of Artaxerxes, dethroned Sogdianus, aſſumed the name of Darius, and reigned amidſt faction and diſturbance. The Greeks called him Νοθος *(the Baſtard)*. He was upon the throne when Alcibiades fled for ſhelter to Tiſſaphernes, governour of Sardis.

Revolutions in Perſia.

He had lately prevailed with them to declare againſt Athens, which rendered the ingratitude of Sparta ſtill more odious. His abilities, and his well known fame, with his taſte for the voluptuous manners of Perſia, eaſily procured him the friendſhip and confidence of the governour. He taught Tiſſaphernes to keep the Greeks divided, by preſerving the two parties ſo equally poiſed, that the one could not rule by the total deſtruction of the other. This was very artful policy, and perhaps the Perſians

He fled to Tiſſaphernes, and perſuaded him to keep up a diviſion among the Greeks.

Perſians had great occaſion to adopt ſuch a plan, to guard them from the attacks of neighbours ſo bold and enterpriſing. It ſeems that ſtratagem or force, deceit or violence, from one nation to another, or even from one individual to another, are the great hinges of ſociety; yet if mankind purſued the natural path to true happineſs, they would find that it has no foundation but in univerſal benevolence.

Diſſenſions at Athens.

However, at a time when every thing conſpired to induce the Athenians to unite for their preſervation, they were agitated by the moſt ruinous diſſenſions. Some of them were for aboliſhing democracy, and recalling Alcibiades; Piſander alledged, that nothing elſe could ſave them; but there were others who maintained that this would ſubvert their liberty, and ruin their country. This unhappy city, always actuated by whim or groundleſs opinion, changed a bad form of government into one ſtill worſe. Four hundred citizens were choſen to exerciſe abſolute rule. They proved egregious tyrants, diſſolving the ſenate, and treading all laws under foot.

A new form of government.

Alcibiades recalled, and ſerves his country.

The army, at that time ſtationed in Samos on purpoſe to keep the allies to their duty, refuſed to conſent to this innovation, and recalled Alcibiades, appointing him generaliſſimo, and entreating him to come and exterminate the tyrants: Alcibiades, who had acted in ſo many different characters, was delighted with the thoughts of once more commanding the Athenians; and having prudently reſtrained the zeal of his troops, paved the way for his return, by gaining ſome conqueſts from the enemy. He attacked and deſtroyed the Lacedemonian fleet, and recovered the empire of the ſea; the Helleſpont, Byzantium, and a number of important places were obliged to ſubmit to Athens, where the four hundred tyrants had been already depoſed; and a decree paſſed for recalling Alcibiades, who was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, while the people reproached themſelves for whatever had been done againſt him.

He is abſolved by the prieſts

The prieſts being commanded to abſolve him from the curſes which had been denounced againſt him,

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one of them was ſuch a plain dealer as to ſay, *I have not curſed him, if he has done no injury to the republic.* As much as to ſay, that curſes could only avail againſt crimes.

He became once more the idol of the Athenians

Alcibiades, all on a ſudden, became once more the idol of the people; but remembering the ſecret ſprings which his enemies had employed to ruin him, his artful policy made him aſſume a ſuperſtitious exterior, that he might guard againſt being cenſured again for his impiety; he therefore joined, in a moſt pompous manner, to celebrate the myſteries of Ceres. Here we may recollect the pliancy of his character, and we ſhall very ſoon ſee a new inſtance of Athenian inconſtancy.

The Athenians perſiſt in carrying on the war.

Sparta, diſmayed at the ſucceſs of Alcibiades, ſent propoſals of peace; and if reaſon could have diſpelled the giddy intoxication of the Athenians, they had now an opportunity of terminating a war, which had raged twenty five years to the ruin of the republic; but the harangues of a worthleſs declaimer prevailed over all ſenſe of the public good, and every proſpect of peace vaniſhed. The Spartans choſe Lyſander for their general, as the fitteſt man to contend with Alcibiades. Lyſander was not aſhamed to pay his court to the young Cyrus, ſon of the king of Perſia, who was at that time governour of Aſia Minor, from whom he obtained money to advance the pay of his ſailors, by which means he ſeduced a number from the Athenians, to ſerve on board his own fleet; and, while Alcibiades was buſy in collecting money in Ionia, defeated the raſh Antiochus, who commanded in his abſence. The Athenians, who had reckoned themſelves ſure of making rapid conqueſts, were provoked by this check, and, depoſing Alcibiades, appointed ten generals in his room.

They are defeated by Lyſander, and Alcibiades depoſed.

Callicratidas the ſucceſſor of Lyſander defeated by his own fault at the battle of Arginuſa.

On the other hand, Lyſander, who was ſtill more remarkable for his ambition than his ſkill in war, was called home to his own country. His ſucceſſor, Callicratidas, ſet an example of the ancient Spartan virtue, which could not be reconciled to the then ſtate of affairs, and, by diſdaining to pay his court to the Perſians, had

had not money to ſupply his army: however, he gained ſome victories, and beſieged Conon, the Athenian general, in the port of Mytelene; but he loſt a great battle, which was fought not far from the iſle of Arginuſa, near Leſbos, becauſe he thought it was his duty to engage, notwithſtanding the ſuperiour force of the enemy. *Sparta*, ſaid he, *does not depend upon one man.* A wrong idea, ſince the ſafety of the whole may depend upon one man, if he is chief; and his glorious death could not wipe away the ſtain of imprudence. The Athenians had equipped one hundred and ten galleys, in leſs than a month, to reinforce their general, Conon; and the Spartans, with their allies, loſt above ſeventy in this memorable engagement.

The Athenians condemned their generals, becauſe the dead could not be buried.

We almoſt always ſee the Athenian glory ſullied by popular madneſs; but there never was ſo ſhocking an inſtance as the preſent. That the happineſs of the dead depended upon the interment of their bodies, was an opinion eſtabliſhed in Greece, which they had derived from Egyptian prejudice; and was ſo firmly believed, that they were willing to ſacrifice every thing for the ſake of funeral honours. After the battle of Arginuſa, the generals had allotted fifty galleys to bring off the dead, and to pay them the laſt duties; but a violent ſtorm prevented their orders from being executed. The people, blinded by ſuperſtition, were perſuaded that the dead called aloud for vengeance; they therefore cauſed the generals to be proſecuted and condemned, when ſix of them, who had merited the moſt glorious rewards, were executed for an imaginary offence; Socrates being the only member of the ſenate who ſteadily oppoſed ſuch flagrant injuſtice. Such is frequently the tyrannic power of prejudice even in civilized nations; and though the Athenians were remarkable for genius, yet they were perpetually diſgracing themſelves for want of judgment.

Before J. C. 404. The Athenians defeated by Lyſander at Ægos Potamos.

To pleaſe the Perſians and the other allies, Sparta reſtored the command of the army to Lyſander, whoſe manners were entirely oppoſite to the laws of Lycurgus, but who had abilities capable of recovering the greateſt misfortunes.

misfortunes. He took Lampſacus, upon the coaſt of the Helleſpont; upon which the Athenians immediately followed him with a hundred and eighty galleys, and offered him battle, which he declined for ſeveral days, on purpoſe to cheriſh in them an inſolent ſecurity, that he might ſurpriſe them on the moſt convenient opportunity. This ſtratagem was the better conceived, as they had no port nor city near them, and were obliged to have their proviſions brought from a conſiderable diſtance. Alcibiades, who had retired to Thrace, came to acquaint them with the danger to which they were expoſing themſelves; but they would not hearken to him, and continued to diſembark every evening, after having inſulted the enemy's fleet through the day. Lyſander watched his opportunity when they were lying ſcattered, and, pouring upon them at a place called Ægos Potamos, made an eaſy conqueſt, cutting their army in pieces, and taking three thouſand priſoners, who were condemned to death. Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, having been remarkable on former occaſions for his cruelty to the Spartan priſoners, Lyſander aſked him, what puniſhment he thought he deſerved. *Do not accuſe men*, replied he, *who have no judge; you are conqueror; make uſe of the rights of conqueſt, and behave to us as we would have done to you if we had been victorious.* So true it is, that we ſhould expect to receive the ſame injuries we have done to others.

Cruelty to the priſoners.

Athens was very ſoon beſieged by ſea and land; and theſe haughty republicans, intimidated by the preſſure of misfortunes, loſt their ancient courage. Inſtead of defending themſelves with ſpirit, they offered to ſubmit, upon condition that their city and harbour ſhould be preſerved. This propoſal was debated in Sparta, where the Thebans and Corinthians were for deſtroying the city; but the more generous Spartans, recollecting the ſervices they had done to the Grecian league, by preſerving the whole ſtates of Greece, concluded a treaty upon the following conditions: That the fortifications of the Piræus ſhould be demoliſhed, with the wall which joined

The ſiege of Athens.

joined it to the city; that Athens ſhould give up all her fleet but twelve galleys; that ſhe ſhould yield all the towns ſhe had taken, recal their exiles, and ſerve under the command of Sparta.

Thus this dreadful war, which ſprung from ambition, and became cruel from hatred, was brought to an end, after having laſted twenty ſeven years, and proving as deſtructive to the Greeks as the confederacy had formerly been beneficial.

CHAP. IV.

Sparta corrupted by Lyſander.—Thraſybulus delivers Athens from tyranny.—Trial of Socrates.—Retreat of the Ten Thouſand.

Ambition of Lyſander.

THE ambitious Lyſander, deſirous of univerſal dominion, endeavoured to ſerve himſelf, without regarding the intereſts of the public. After his naval victory at Ægos Potamos, he aboliſhed democracy in ſeveral maritime ſtates, ſubjecting them to the government of magiſtrates who were at his diſpoſal. He likewiſe changed the government of Athens, by putting that city into the power of thirty tyrants, under the name of archons, who committed the moſt unheard of cruelties. He corrupted the Spartan manners, by the introduction of riches; and fifteen hundred talents, which he ſent thither, infected the vitals of the ſtate; even Gylippus, who had been ſo celebrated for ſaving Syracuſe, could not reſiſt the temptation of embezzling a part of it, and, being convicted of the infamous theft, fled to eſcape puniſhment. The moſt prudent of the citizens were at firſt for proſcribing with execrations the gold and ſilver brought among them by Lyſander; but his friends propoſed that it ſhould be dedicated ſolely to the uſes of the ſtate; which expedient was reliſhed, and a law paſſed, that whoever kept any of the new money ſhould ſuffer death; as if, according to the judicious

He introduced riches into Sparta.

reflection

reflection of Plutarch, individuals could long continue to deſpiſe what was uſeful for the ſtate; or, when they opened their hearts to avarice, expect that any laws could prevent money from penetrating into their houſes.

It is true, that the Spartans were infected with riches; but according to their new plan of government, was not a public treaſure become abſolutely neceſſary? How could they poſſibly ſupport a fleet, or act out of their own country, without a revenue? Had they not applied to Perſia more than once for money? It was abſolutely neceſſary, that they ſhould either adhere entirely to the laws of Lycurgus, or change their cuſtoms. Corruption had been gradually inſinuating itſelf for a long time; and it may be queſtioned, whether the celebrated ſaying of Pauſanias, who was then reigning, can be looked upon as entirely juſt. He was aſked, what was the reaſon that the ancient cuſtoms were perpetuated in Sparta: *It is becauſe the laws command the people*, ſaid he, *and the people do not command the laws.*

The Spartans being no longer the ſame, this evil became neceſſary.

Sparta at leaſt preſerved her liberty, while Athens, oppreſſed by thirty tyrants, felt all the horrours with which ſlavery can afflict a people accuſtomed to independence; impriſonment, exile, confiſcation of property, and death. Xenophon ſays, that the tyrants put to death more people in eight months of peace, than had been ſlain by the enemy in a war of thirty years. Theramenes, one of the thirty, was himſelf executed, for having oppoſed the cruelties of his colleagues.

Athens oppreſſed by thirty tyrants.

Here we find Alcibiades make his appearance once more, having quitted his place of exile, and paſſed into Perſia, with an intention to bring about a revolution in favour of Athens; the Spartans dreading him, engaged the governour, Pharnabazus, by a piece of ſhameful treachery, to order him to be aſſaſſinated. The guards, who were ſent for that purpoſe, not daring to enter his houſe, ſet fire to it; upon which Alcibiades, ruſhing out with his ſword in his hand, repulſed them, but fell at laſt under a ſhower of arrows ſhot at him in his flight. Some writers give a different account of his death;

Treachery of the Spartans with reſpect to Alcibiades.

His death.

death; but the only obſervation of real importance is, that with ſuperiour abilities, and an excellent genius for performing great actions, Alcibiades was the ſcourge of Greece, and, by yielding to the tranſports of his paſſions rather than to the counſels of Socrates, plunged himſelf into miſery.

Before J. C. 403. Notwithſtanding the cruel precaution of the Spartans, who had forbidden the Grecian cities to receive any Athenians flying from tyranny, yet Athens found an avenger. Thraſybulus, at the head of the fugitives, attacked the tyrants, and drove them out of Athens, and the government was intruſted to ten citizens; but the abuſe of authority is ſo contagious, that they likewiſe became tyrants. The thirty implored the aſſiſtance of Sparta, and Lyſander protected them with all his power. The king Pauſanias marched againſt Athens, but with a ſecret deſire to reſtore peace and good order. However, Thraſybulus completed what he had undertaken, the tyrants were killed, and the ancient form of government was re-eſtabliſhed. Similar revolutions are generally attended with bloody conſequences; a conſiderable number of the accomplices of tyranny remained, and the public diſorders had made an infinite number guilty; but the prudent deliverer of Athens eaſily foreſaw, that by puniſhing them the wounds of the ſtate would be opened afreſh, and therefore propoſed an act of amneſty, by which all paſt deeds ſhould be buried in perpetual oblivion. Unhappily, while the paſſions preſerve their ſway, civil diſſenſions leave behind them a ferment which a ſalutary mildneſs cannot extinguiſh.

Thraſybulus delivers Athens from tyranny.

Act of amneſty after the death of the tyrants.

They ſtill prevailed in Athens, and the proceedings againſt Socrates very ſoon diſgraced that city, more than ſlavery could have done. Socrates, the firſt, ſays Cicero, who brought philoſophy from heaven, who placed it in cities, and introduced it into families; who induced the people to pay regard to morals, to their duties in life, and to diſtinguiſh between good and evil; this true philoſopher, the model of all thoſe virtues which he taught, had long dedicated his whole attention to the

Socrates the moſt reſpectable of philoſophers.

Tuſc. v. 10.

inſtruction

instruction of youth. He despised the sophists, whose vanity, covered with an empty display of science, made them decide upon every subject without knowing any thing, in a flow of language which conveyed nothing but false ideas; and therefore they were his enemies. He professed the religion of his country; but, by surmounting popular prejudices, directed to the one God, those adorations which they lavished upon phantoms of divinity; he therefore could not fail to draw upon himself the hatred of the hypocritical and superstitious. These dangerous men plotted his destruction, and having succeeded by employing religion as a pretence against Aspasia and Anaxagoras, a pretence which easily conceals the most enormous wickedness, they planted the same battery against the most virtuous of mankind.

The sophists and hypocrites plot his destruction.

Anytus and Melitus, two names most infamous in history, were the leaders in this conspiracy. Aristophanes, whose licentious and satirical comedies were not to the taste of Socrates, being undoubtedly piqued at his preferring the tragedies of Euripides, aimed the first blow at him, by ridiculing his character upon the stage. His illiberal satire, called *The Clouds*, set the patience of the philosopher in the clearest light; for, being present, he stood the laughter of the audience with perfect composure, saying to his friends, *that he fancied himself at a festival, where he amused all the people.* Melitus next, having laid aside the mask, charged him with corrupting the youth by introducing new deities. Socrates had been teaching for forty years, and his doctrine was universally known; it was therefore a most egregious absurdity, after so long time had elapsed, to charge him with it as a crime; but provided passion be gratified, it blushes at nothing.

Aristophanes exposes him on the stage.

He is accused by Melitus.

Without consenting to accept of the assistance either of counsel or pleader, Socrates vindicated himself by a simple explanation of his conduct. "I believe the "existence of God," said he with energy, "more than "my prosecutors; and am so perfectly convinced of "it, that to God and you I submit, to be judged "in

He boldly stood trial

" in ſuch a manner as you ſhall think moſt advantage-
" ous for you and for me." They immediately condemned him, but without aſſigning a puniſhment. He had a privilege to ſet a fine upon himſelf, and his friends offered to pay it; but he generouſly refuſed to take that ſtep, leſt it ſhould be reckoned an acknowledgment of guilt; and declared to the people, that he thought he was entitled by his actions, rather to be maintained at the expenſe of the republic. This noble ſpirit ſtill more exaſperated his enemies, and, according to cuſtom, they deliberated a ſecond time, when he was ſentenced to drink the hemlock, which was the mode of putting criminals to death; upon which he calmly ſaid to his judges, " By your order I am going to ſuffer
" death; from my birth I was condemned to it by na-
" ture; but truth will ſpeedily ſentence my accuſers to
" infamy."

He is condemned to die.

His friends, anxious to get him out of priſon, and perſuading him to fly, he anſwered, That it would be an inſult againſt the laws. On the day of his ſuffering, he diſcourſed with them upon the immortality of the ſoul, and on the ſentiments which the expectation of another life ſhould inſpire; proving that this truth, even though it were a matter of doubt, ought to regulate the conduct of every rational being. He cheered and comforted them; when the hemlock was brought to him, he drank it off without the leaſt emotion, and died, ſaying to Crito, one of his diſciples, *I owe a cock to Eſculapias, take care you do not forget to acquit me of that vow.*

He refuſes to eſcape, and dies like a true ſage.

After the Athenians had deſtroyed that true philoſopher, they were penetrated with ſhame and remorſe, paid the greateſt reſpect to his memory, ſeverely puniſhed his accuſers, and expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence of every one that had the leaſt ſhare in the conſpiracy. It was their conſtant practice to be guilty of enormous faults, always to repent, but never to amend. As the very extremity of all folly, they allowed the poets to ridicule their gods upon the ſtage, and puniſhed their ſages for endeavouring to inſpire the people with ſenti-

The Athenians repent.

Abſurd conduct of the Athenians.

ments

ments worthy of the Deity. The thirty tyrants ſpared Socrates, though he openly oppoſed their tyranny; and it was ſoon after their expulſion, the four hundredth year before our era, that he was put to death by the ſentence of the people. An unbridled multitude is not the leaſt unjuſt, nor the leaſt cruel, of tyrants.

Moral leſſons in hiſtory are much more intereſting than details of expeditions.

We read with a great deal of pleaſure what Rollin has written of a ſingle perſon, ſuch as Socrates; but the long, minute relation which he has given of the famous retreat of the ten thouſand, is exceedingly tedious. The reaſon is, becauſe we always find ourſelves deeply intereſted and inſtructed by moral leſſons, derived from the actions of men, while thoſe other details are tireſome in themſelves, and of little or no utility. Every one would ſtudy hiſtory, and improve, if it was not ſo overloaded with trifles, which are irkſome even in gazettes. When a military man is acquainted with what is more eſſential in his profeſſion, he may ſtudy the retreat of the ten thouſand in Xenophon or Rollin; but to have a general idea of that memorable event, is enough for other people.

The young Cyrus attempts to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon. Before J. C. 401.

He is joined by the Spartans.

Darius II. (Νόθος) being dead, his eldeſt ſon, Artaxerxes Mnemon, ſucceeded to the empire, and his brother, the young Cyrus, was governour of Aſia Minor. It was a very great errour to leave him in poſſeſſion of that government, when he had given the moſt undoubted proofs of his being a ſlave to ambition. Having reſolved to dethrone his brother, he perſuaded the Spartans, to whom he had been a protector, to join him, while they, forgetful of their own intereſt, and the intereſts of Greece, ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by deluſive appearances. Thirteen thouſand Greeks joined Cyrus, without knowing whither he was to lead them; but as he found they were averſe from ſuch an hazardous enterpriſe, he increaſed their pay upon their march.*

When

* He promiſed them a darique and half a month, that is, according to Rollin, fifteen French livres: but his eſtimates are much under the numerary value of theſe days. He reckons the talent only at a thouſand crowns, as in the time of Louis XIV.

When they approached near Babylon, the king advanced with an innumerable army; and Clearchus, the Spartan general, adviſed the young Cyrus not to expoſe his perſon. *What*, replied the prince, *when I am attempting the throne, would you have me ſhew myſelf unworthy of it?* The two brothers attacked one another, during the engagement, with the greateſt inveteracy, and Cyrus was killed; but the Greeks, by their courage and diſcipline, ſhewed themſelves ſuperiour to the multitude that oppoſed them. They declared that they would rather die than yield; and, notwithſtanding the infinite dangers and obſtacles to which they were expoſed, inceſſantly attacked, yet always victorious, ten thouſand of them returned to their own country by the Helleſpont, after a march of five or ſix hundred leagues.

Cyrus killed in battle.

Retreat of the ten thouſand.

Though Xenophon commanded at the end of the retreat, yet the hiſtory which he has written ſeems in ſome reſpects not to merit the greateſt credit. He repreſents Cyrus as a moſt accompliſhed prince, without finding any fault with that horrid attempt which ambition had inſpired. The prince had charmed him by his genius and merit; but ought a philoſophic hiſtorian to palliate his exceſſes? A rebellion againſt his king, hatred againſt his brother, a madneſs which made him attempt to uſurp the throne by means of a civil war, muſt eternally ſtain the memory of Cyrus, notwithſtanding the encomiums which have been beſtowed upon him. In the letter which he wrote to the Spartans to obtain their aſſiſtance, he greatly extols himſelf above his rival; boaſting that his heart was more noble, that he was better acquainted with religion and philoſophy, and, what was undoubtedly a great merit in Perſia, he could drink more without being intoxicated. The whole letter ſhews very little delicacy.

Xenophon too much prejudiced in favour of Cyrus.

Cteſias, the hiſtorian, whom we have ſometimes mentioned, was attached to this prince, and entered into the ſervice of Cyrus as his phyſician. Photius has preſerved ſome fragments of his works; and Diodorus frequently copied him, though he could not have choſen a worſe guide.

Cteſias the phyſician of Cyrus.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Ageſilaus in Aſia.—He is recalled.—Shameful Treaty with the Perſians.—Of the Theban Republic, till the Battle of Leuctra.

THE glory which always accompanies illuſtrious actions, is undoubtedly the greateſt incentive to noble attempts. The courage of the Greeks being animated by the retreat of the ten thouſand, they once more took arms to recover the liberty of their Aſiatic colonies, and became more deſirous than ever of humbling the Perſians. Ageſilaus, brother of Agis king of Sparta, was the great hero of this war. Having no right to the crown, he was bred up as a private perſon, in all the ſeverity of Lacedemonian manners; but upon the death of Agis he contended for the ſucceſſion with his nephew Leotychides, who was believed to be the natural ſon of Alcibiades, though Agis, when dying, acknowledged his legitimacy. He was preferred, and truly deſerved it, by poſſeſſing every heroic quality, as well as a happy talent for acquiring the good will of the people. Such was the love of the whole nation for him, and ſo great was his credit in Sparta, that the Ephori condemned him to pay a fine, only becauſe *he engroſſed to himſelf thoſe citizens who belonged to the republic.* His predeceſſors had continual diſputes with the Ephori and Senate, but no ſuch thing happened during the whole of his reign. He always reverenced them; and, far from leſſening their authority, increaſed it by a ready ſubmiſſion to the laws. As he was lame, nothing but a very uncommon ſhare of merit could have made him ſo loved and reſpected by a people who looked upon the leaſt corporal defect as inexcuſable.

War againſt the Perſians.

Ageſilaus king of Sparta.

The war againſt the Perſians being intruſted to his conduct, he required a council of thirty captains; and Lyſander, who had aſſiſted in procuring him the throne, was placed at their head. Ageſilaus, at ſetting out, promiſed either to conclude an honourable peace, or to

Before J. C. 396. Ageſilaus made the Perſians tremble.

preſs his enemies ſo as to diſable them from giving any diſturbance to Greece; and in a ſhort time filled all Aſia with a dread of his arms. The Perſian governours (ſatraps) trembled at his approach. The Spartan virtue, and rigid diſcipline, were admired in the perſon of Ageſilaus; and the haughty pride of the Perſians ſeemed to pay homage to him in the conferences which he held with the officers of their king. Equally deaf to their offers and threatenings, he ſaw their provinces ready to ſubmit, and was preparing to carry the war into the heart of the kingdom, when he was ſuddenly recalled to protect his country.

League of the Greeks againſt Sparta.

A very dangerous league was formed againſt Sparta by means of the intrigues of the Perſians, or rather the influence of their gold. Thebes, Argos and Corinth, unwilling to ſubmit any longer, revolted againſt the Lacedemonians; and Athens followed their example, at the preſſing inſtances of the Thebans, to whom ſhe in a great meaſure owed her liberty.

Death of Lyſander.

Lyſander, who commanded on the Helleſpont, haſtened to ſtifle the confederacy in the beginning; but he fruitleſsly expected aſſiſtance, and was killed in a very unequal engagement.

His ambition.

The haughty pretenſions of this famous Spartan occaſioned variance between him and Ageſilaus. To uncommon talents he added all the vices of an ambitious man: unjuſt, treacherous and cunning, he paid no regard to men nor to his oath. Some time after his death it was diſcovered that he had formed a plan for ſeizing the crown. He intended to aboliſh the order of ſucceſſion; he had corrupted the prieſts, that they might make the oracles declare for him; and in the next place would have had recourſe to the right of the ſtrongeſt, as he had done when the Spartans and Argians were contending about their boundaries; on which occaſion he ſaid, ſhewing his ſword, *Here is what will give us a right.*

He was poor, tho' he introduced wealth into his country.

Notwithſtanding his having introduced riches into Sparta, Lyſander was always poor: a ſingular proof of the effect which ancient manners have even on corrupted minds. When the ſtate of his affairs was known,

two

two conſiderable citizens, who were to have married his daughters, refuſed to fulfil their engagements. This meanneſs made them univerſally infamous, and they were condemned to pay a conſiderable fine.

Ageſilaus, being recalled from Aſia, ſubmits to the laws.

The diſtracted ſtate of the republic made the Ephori recal Ageſilaus; who, notwithſtanding the allurements of victory, inſtantly obeyed. *I know*, ſaid he, *that a commander does not deſerve that name, except when he is guided by the laws, and is obedient to thoſe who are inveſted with their authority.* Before he arrived, Conon, one of the Athenian generals, who had been defeated at Ægos Potamos by Lyſander, added to the diſtreſſes of Sparta. Having the command of a Perſian fleet, he attacked that of the enemy near Cnidus, took fifty of their galleys, diſperſed the reſt, and made almoſt all the Lacedemonian allies revolt. Ageſilaus received the news when he was preparing for an engagement in Bœotia; but, being obliged to diſſemble, gave out that they had gained a victory, and animated the courage of his troops by offering a ſacrifice of gratitude for their ſucceſs. The battle was fought on the plains of Coronæ; and, notwithſtanding he was wounded, and the Thebans made a very brave reſiſtance, he gained the victory. At his return to Sparta, he was only to be diſtinguiſhed by his modeſty, frugality, temperance and economy, as if he had not brought with him even the leaſt idea of the manners of Aſia.

Conon defeats the Spartans at Cnidus.

Ageſilaus victorious at Coronæ.

Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens

Mean jealouſy of Sparta.

Conon, having laid waſte the Spartan coaſts, ſet about rebuilding the walls of Athens with Perſian money; and the Lacedemonians were vexed to ſee their greateſt rival in a fair way to recover her former power. Induced by contemptible envy, they made a ſacrifice of both honour and equity, by ſending Antalcidas to the governour of Lydia, not only to defame Conon, but to offer terms which were moſt diſgraceful to Greece. Antalcidas, who was the enemy of Ageſilaus, could find no other method of leſſening his power, and checking him in the purſuit of glory.

Before J. C. 387.

On this occaſion, the Perſians preſcribed in the ſtyle of

The Spartans conclude a ſhameful treaty with the Perſians.

of conquerors the treaty; bearing, that all the Greek cities of Aſia ſhould continue ſubject to the king of Perſia, all the reſt to remain at liberty, and to chooſe their own mode of government; that the king ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Cyprus and Clazomene, and leave to the Athenians the iſlands of Scyros, Lemnos and Imbros, to whom they had formerly belonged; and, laſtly, that he would declare war againſt any who ſhould reject theſe articles. At firſt the Thebans alone ſteadily refuſed, but they afterwards yielded to example.

Effects of the diſſenſions among the Greeks.

Thus the paſſions and wretched policy of the Greeks in one inſtant annihilated the advantages gained by ſo many victories, and thoſe eminent virtues for which they had been deſervedly diſtinguiſhed. While they were united for the common intereſt, they triumphed over and gave law to the moſt formidable power, and felt the benefit of a confederacy from which they derived both honour and ſafety; but afterwards, when they became divided by weak jealouſy, and a deſire of governing, they gave themſelves up to every exceſs that could be dictated by rage and hatred, acting more cruelly by one another than thoſe nations whom they looked upon with contempt as barbarians. After their principles, laws and manners were deſtroyed by civil diſcord, they became ſo groveling as to crouch before thoſe very barbarians even without being conquered, and to ſuch a degree as ſolemnly to ſacrifice the liberty of thoſe colonies which by force of arms they had freed from ſlavery. Such was the effect of the rivalſhip between Sparta and Athens. What a difference between the emulation which excites men to perform worthy and noble actions, and that ambition which urges them to be guilty of injuſtice, and hurries them on to miſery!

Before J. C. 382. The Spartans ſeize the citadel of Thebes in time of peace.

Sparta, having recovered her power in Greece, made no better uſe of it than upon former occaſions, but played the tyrant without being ſenſible, from experience, that this tyranny would occaſion her deſtruction.

Phœbidas,

Phæbidas, one of her generals, on his march into Thrace to ſubdue Olynthus, whoſe power had been dreaded from the time that it had ſhaken off the Athenian yoke, being encamped in the neighbourhood of Thebes, where two factions were tearing one another in pieces, ſeconded the intentions of one of the leaders, and ſurpriſed the citadel, which was called Cadmæa. This violence, in time of peace, was a crime of the blackeſt dye.

Unjuſt judgment pronounced at Sparta upon this affair.

However, when it was complained of at Sparta, Ageſilaus, unhappily too much inclined to war, ſaid it was neceſſary to examine whether the place was uſeful; that they would, and indeed ought to do of their own accord, whatever was of advantage to their country. The event will ſhew, as we have formerly obſerved, that true intereſt is inſeparable from juſtice. Ageſilaus in this caſe contradicted himſelf; for on a former occaſion he ſaid, ſpeaking of the king of Perſia, *Can this king, whom you call great, be more ſo than I, if he is not more juſt?* The decree of the Spartans upon this affair of Thebes is a moſt ſhameful contradiction; it bore, that Phæbidas ſhould be deprived of the command, and pay a fine of a hundred thouſand drachmæ, but that they ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the citadel, by placing in it a ſtrong garriſon.

Four hundred Thebans take ſhelter in Athens.

After ſuch extraordinary proceedings, the Spartans ought to have been invincible, or expect ſome very violent revolutions. More than four hundred Thebans, with hearts filled with the deſire of vengeance, had fled for ſhelter to Athens; and a decree of baniſhment, which was paſſed during their abſence, added greatly to the provocation. One of the number baniſhed was Pelopidas; who, by his birth and fortune, but ſtill more by his activity, courage and virtue, ought to be eſteemed one of the firſt of men. He had Epaminondas for his friend, who was as noble minded and high ſpirited as himſelf; but being poor, and a philoſopher who dedicated his whole time to ſtudy, the oppreſſors of Thebes conſidered him as an individual from whom they

Pelopidas and Epaminondas

they had nothing to apprehend, and therefore allowed him to remain in the city; however, we ſhall ſee theſe two heroes amply revenge the cauſe of their country upon the ruins of haughty Lacedemon.

Pelopidas delivers his country.

Though Pelopidas was ſtill young, he undertook to deliver his country, and infuſed the ſame zeal into all the exiles, with which he himſelf was inſpired. He kept up a ſecret correſpondence in the city, into which he entered privately with eleven of his companions; and though the conſpiracy tranſpired, he executed his ſcheme with ſucceſs and intrepidity. The principal magiſtrates were aſſembled to celebrate a feſtival; and one of them, having received a letter from Athens which gave information of the plot, refuſed to open it, ſaying, *Let us leave buſineſs till tomorrow.* While theſe magiſtrates neglected the public affairs, they were put to death, the priſons were broken open, and the Thebans invited to freedom. Epaminondas, who till this time had reſtrained his zeal, from a dread of ſpilling the blood of his fellow citizens, joined the deliverers of his country. Next day all the exiles arrived, and were followed by an Athenian army of five thouſand five hundred men; the cities of Bœotia likewiſe haſtening to ſend ſuccours. At laſt the inſurgents laid ſiege to the citadel; and the Spartans, being compelled by the reſt of the garriſon to open the gates, begged that they might have leave to depart where they pleaſed; which was granted. The Spartan army advanced with their uſual tardineſs; and if it had not been for that inactivity, they might have ſaved the place.

Epaminondas joins him.

The Spartans driven out.

The Athenians abandon the Thebans, and very ſoon renew their alliance.

The Athenians, with their uſual levity, very ſoon repented of their having generouſly aſſiſted the Thebans, and baſely abandoned their cauſe; but in ſpite of themſelves Pelopidas found means to bring them back. He cauſed a propoſal to be made to Sphrodias, an imprudent Spartan general, for ſeizing the Piræus, which muſt have made Sparta miſtreſs of Athens. As ambition juſtified every thing, Sphrodias eagerly embraced the ſcheme, but by employing improper means failed in

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the attempt. Athens loudly complained; but the Spartans refuſed to give them any ſort of ſatisfaction; the Athenians therefore immediately renewed their alliance with Thebes, and equipped a fleet, which, ſailing under the command of Timotheus, ſon of Conon, inſulted their coaſts, and took from them the iſland of Corcyra.

Ageſilaus was ſent into Bœotia, but being weighed down with age, he could only carry on a war of ſkirmiſhes; which, ſo far from bringing the Thebans to ſubmiſſion, ſerved to diſcipline them for more important ſervices. Antalcidas, ſeeing him come back covered with wounds, ſaid to him in raillery—*So, you have been well paid for teaching the Thebans to fight, ſince but for you they neither would nor could have learned the art of war.* And indeed Pelopidas ſoon ſhewed that he had profited by his leſſons; for at the battle of Tegyra he pierced through the army of the enemy, which was three times his number; and till the preſent occaſion it had never been heard that the Spartans had been beaten even by equal numbers. Their inſolent pride ſhould then have felt, that a free people may become formidable to the moſt warlike tyrants.

Ageſilaus carries on the war unſucceſsfully in Bœotia

The Spartans defeated at Tegyra, though much more numerous than the Thebans.

This war, which was kindled by the ambition of an unjuſt people, filled Greece with complaints and murmurs; peace was the univerſal wiſh, and deputies were ſent to Sparta to aſſiſt at the negotiation. Epaminondas, who was the deputy from Thebes, nobly ſupported the public intereſt, and the cauſe of liberty. Ageſilaus, aſking him in an imperious manner, if Bœotia muſt then remain independent? he replied by a ſimilar queſtion, Muſt Laconia remain independent? The Spartan, too much irritated againſt Thebes, ſtruck their name out of the treaty which was ready to be concluded; and the other ſtates joined in it from fear, giving up the people who at that time deſerved the higheſt eſteem.

The Thebans forſaken by the Greeks.

Steady conduct of Epaminondas.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Thebes powerful in the time of Pelopidas and Epaminondas.—Its Fall.—State of Greece before Philip of Macedon.

Epaminondas, general.

SPARTA, with all the ſtates of Greece, coming to pour upon Thebes, ſhe ſeemed in all appearance to be inevitably ruined; but two men, ſuch as Epaminondas and Pelopidas, are ſufficient for a country, when the hearts of the people are filled with the ardour of true patriotiſm. The firſt of theſe was appointed general, with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral colleagues; the ſecond, being no longer in office, commanded the *ſacred band*, a formidable corps, conſiſting of three hundred young heroes, who engaged themſelves by oath to defend one another to the laſt breath*. When Epaminondas began his march, he was told that there were ſome unfavourable omens; to which he replied by a line in Homer, *To defend our country is the happieſt omen.* Superiour to ſuperſtitious weakneſs himſelf, he knew the influence it had on vulgar minds; therefore, to prevent the bad effects, he invented ſome fortunate auguries, which his ſoldiers received with perfect confidence.

Sacred band.

His prudence with reſpect to augury.

Before J. C. 370. Battle of Leuctra.

The battle of Leuctra decided this great quarrel. The Spartans and their allies brought twenty five thouſand ſix hundred men againſt ſix thouſand four hundred, of which the Theban army conſiſted. This great inequality did not prevent Epaminondas from attacking the enemy. What may be reckoned temerity in ſome circumſtances, may be in others prudence. The allies of Sparta were diſcontented; the Thebans were in perfect diſcipline, and animated with a moſt enthuſiaſtic love of liberty; beſides, it was neceſſary to prevent the junction of freſh forces which were expected by the enemy. The general made ſuch excellent diſpoſitions, and

* When Pelopidas was leaving his houſe, his wife in tears conjured him to take care of himſelf. *This ſhould be recommended to the young men,* ſaid he; *but a chief ſhould be requeſted only to preſerve thoſe that are under his command.*

and was ſo well ſupported, that he gained a complete victory. Sparta had never loſt ſo many of her people upon any occaſion; their king Cleombrotus, with fourteen hundred Lacedemonians, being killed on the ſpot.

Magnanimity of the Spartans after their defeat.

Upon this occaſion, a ſtriking inſtance of the old manners was ſeen at Sparta. The news of their misfortune arriving while they were celebrating the gymnaſtic games, the Ephori did not allow them to be interrupted, ſending only the liſt of the killed to the houſes of the people. It is difficult to conceive the various impreſſions which that liſt produced: ſome congratulated themſelves upon the glorious deaths of their children, while others could not be comforted with the thought of theirs having ſurvived ſuch a defeat. The women more particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by theſe ſentiments, which were perhaps more the effect of a ferocious diſpoſition, than of true courage. As a number of the combatants had fled, and the laws decreed diſgraceful puniſhments againſt cowardice, it was to be dreaded, that, at a time when the republic required as many ſoldiers as they could raiſe, a rigid ſeverity might have fatal conſequences; they therefore gave power to Ageſilaus to change the laws as he ſhould think convenient. That prince found a moſt prudent modification; and declared, at the meeting of the aſſembly, *That the laws might be ſuffered to ſleep for one day, and afterwards to reſume their whole power.* Though the ſpirit of legiſlation ought to yield to conjunctures, yet a ſtate runs a great riſk of loſing the benefit of her laws, when circumſtances oblige them to be infringed in favour of thoſe whom they muſt have condemned. Perhaps on ſuch an occaſion a new legiſlator might be neceſſary.

The law againſt cowardice ſuſpended.

Epaminondas penetrates into Laconia.

It was become a proverb, *That a Spartan woman had never ſeen the ſmoke of an enemy's camp*; and it was frequently repeated by Ageſilaus; but he had the vexation to witneſs the contrary. The Theban army increaſed every day by the defection of the allies of Sparta; and, penetrating into Laconia, laid waſte the whole country; but the town was ſaved by the prudence of Ageſilaus.

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He remained ſhut up in the city, and avoided an engagement, becauſe a defeat muſt have produced irremediable conſequences, as Sparta had no fortifications, and could not long reſiſt an enemy. But Epaminondas, being afraid to excite envy and hatred, if he deſtroyed a republic whoſe name could not fail to impreſs future ages with ideas of reſpect, was ſatisfied with having checked their tyranny, and retired to his own country covered with glory and honour, after having freed the Meſſenians from the Spartan yoke.

He ſpares Sparta.

He is accuſed at his return with Pelopidas.

It would have been very extraordinary, if Epaminondas, and his colleague Pelopidas, had not taſted like many others of republican ingratitude. They had continued in the command four months longer than the time allotted, on purpoſe to carry on the expedition againſt Peloponneſus; which, at their return, was reckoned a capital offence. The public ſafety is the ſupreme law, and it ſpoke too loud in their favour not to be attended to. Epaminondas pleaded his own cauſe, and declared he would willingly ſuffer death, if they would conſent to allow him the whole honour which was derived from his late ſervices, and declare that they were performed without the approbation of the republic; ſo that, inſtead of being condemned, he was more and more admired. This hero was ſo much above the petty meanneſs inſpired by vanity, that he performed with the greateſt attention the duties of an inferiour employment, to which his enemies got him appointed as an affront. *Employments*, ſaid he, *dignify the citizen, but the citizen likewiſe dignifies the employment.*

He vindicates himſelf nobly.

League of the Greeks againſt Thebes.

The Spartans, however, being humbled, implored the aſſiſtance of the Athenians; who, induced either by compaſſion, or jealouſy of a riſing republic, promiſed to unite with them in the ſame common intereſt; and ſeveral other ſtates entered into this league. Every honourable ſentiment giving way to a wretched policy, the allies ſued for the protection of the king of Perſia; but Pelopidas was deputed by Thebes to go and diſconcert their meaſures. The glory which he had acquired, join-

The Perſians refuſe to aſſiſt.

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ed to his great abilities, procured him the eſteem of Artaxerxes Mnemon, whom he eaſily perſuaded to favour a people who had never gone to war with Perſia, and might preſerve the balance of power between their enemies of Sparta and Athens.

Pelopidas decides a conteſt for the crown of Macedonia.

This illuſtrious general ſoon after acquired new honour, by executing a commiſſion more worthy to employ a Grecian chief. He was ſent againſt Alexander the tyrant of Pheræa in Theſſalia, whoſe ambition and cruelty made him dreaded by all his neighbours; but the tyrant, not caring to wait his arrival, fled from his country. At this time Macedonia was torn in pieces by the quarrels of two ſons of Amyntas II. the laſt king; who, contending for the ſucceſſion, applied to Pelopidas to decide the diſpute. As ſoon as he arrived, peace was reſtored, and he carried with him thirty children of the firſt families of the country as hoſtages, and among the reſt Philip, whom we ſhall ſoon find upon the throne.

He braves the tyrant of Pheræa, tho' his priſoner.

Some time after he had ſettled this diſpute, which was more honourable for himſelf and for his country, than victories purchaſed at the price of human blood, by being too confident, he fell into the hands of Alexander of Pheræa; whom, though his priſoner, he threatened to puniſh for his crimes. The tyrant having aſked him, wherefore he was ſo deſirous of being put to death, he replied, *It is that you may ſuffer the ſooner, by deſerving ſtill more the hatred of gods and men.*

His death

Being reſcued by Epaminondas, he too unguardedly yielded to a thirſt for revenge; and, deſirous of ſlaying the tyrant with his own hand, imprudently expoſed himſelf in the engagement, till he fell all covered with wounds, at the time his army gained the victory. The tyrant was aſſaſſinated while he was flying, his own wife being at the head of the conſpiracy.

Before J. C. 363. A new expedition of Epaminondas into Laconia.

All Greece with an eye of jealouſy beheld the Thebans, whom they formerly deſpiſed, become the arbiters of the nation. Their ſuperiority depended upon a ſingle perſon, and they were very ſoon to loſe him. A civil war having broke out in Arcadia, between the Tegeatæ and

and Mantinæans, Thebes declared for the former, while Sparta and Athens joined their adverſaries. The command being intruſted to Epaminondas, he made a ſecond attempt upon Sparta, and penetrated even to the public ſquare; but Ageſilaus, having fortunately been informed of his intention, ſaved the city by his prudence and courage. Leſt he ſhould be incloſed between two armies, Epaminondas found himſelf obliged to retreat, and was cloſely followed by the allies. The famous battle of Mantinæa was fought, in which Epaminondas gave every proof of military ſkill, and ſuſtained the combat with moſt heroic courage, till he was wounded in the breaſt with a javelin: a wound which was to conclude and crown a life of the greateſt glory.

Battle of Mantinæa

During the engagement he was carried to the camp, where the ſurgeons declared that he would die as ſoon as the weapon was extracted from the wound. His only care then was to be informed of the ſucceſs of the battle, and to know what was become of his arms. Upon ſeeing his buckler, and being told that Thebes had conquered, he comforted his afflicted officers: *Do not*, ſaid he, *look upon this day as the laſt of my life; it is rather the beginning of my happineſs, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, Sparta humbled, and Greece freed from ſlavery.* As his friends were regretting that he was to die without children, he added, that Leuctra and Mantinæa would be his children, and ſave his name from ſinking into oblivion. He then plucked the javelin from his breaſt, and inſtantly expired.

Death of Epaminondas.

Epaminondas was one of the greateſt men of antiquity. Philoſophy, which was the happineſs of his private life, did not prevent him from dedicating himſelf entirely to public buſineſs when called upon by his country. His mind, formed by ſtudy, was equally capable of diſcharging all the duties of a great general, or of a private citizen. He was never to be ſeduced by honours, and all his purſuits were for the glory of his country. Being penetrated with the deepeſt ſentiments of filial piety, he ſaid, after the battle of Leuctra, *My joy riſes*

Some excellent anecdotes of Epaminondas.

riſes from what my father and mother muſt feel, when they are informed of our victory. With all his knowledge, he was ſo modeſt, that he well deſerved the encomium which was given him—*That no one knew more, or ſpoke leſs.* Continuing ſtill poor with ſuch means of enriching himſelf, we may judge from the following anecdote what uſe he would have made of riches. He ſent one of his friends to aſk a talent from another citizen; who, having come to inquire the reaſon—*It is becauſe*, ſaid he, *that man is in want, and you are rich.* In one word, Cicero places him at the head of the great men of Greece.* What an encomium!

Thebes ſinks back into obſcurity.

Before the time of Epaminondas, Thebes made no figure; but, with the aſſiſtance of Pelopidas, he raiſed it from nothing, and made it the wonder of the age; after his death, it ſunk again into its original obſcurity. The Theban power ſuddenly vaniſhed, and the people preſerved the character of ſtupidity, which has been aſcribed to the heavy air of their country. However, beſides Epaminondas and Pelopidas, Bœotia has had a Pindar and a Plutarch. But even theſe authors allow, that the idea which the reſt of the world had of the Bœotians was not without foundation; yet they are proofs, that an unfavourable climate may produce uncommon geniuſes. Culture is oftener wanted than ſoil.

Before J. C. 362. General peace in Greece, except with the Spartans.

The battle of Mantinæa at laſt induced the Greeks to think of a general peace, which, if they had been wiſe, they never would have broken; they therefore agreed upon the plan of the treaty entered into with Artaxerxes Mnemon, that every city ſhould be independent. As the Meſſenians were included in this general peace, the Spartans refuſed to accede, and ſent aſſiſtance to the Egyptians, who had rebelled againſt the king of Perſia; ſo that, inſtead of recovering their late misfortunes, they imprudently engaged in a foreign war. Ageſilaus, though above eighty years old, ſet out at the head of the army; and, being offended with Tachos, king

Ageſilaus in Egypt.

* Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ. Tuſc. l. i. 4.

king of Egypt, for not appointing him generaliſſimo, as he expected, he attached himſelf to Nectanebus, who was the couſin and enemy of Tachos, raiſed him to the throne, and afterwards died in Africa, where he was detained by a contrary wind on his return to Greece.

His death.

Xenophon extravagant in his praiſe.

Ageſilaus was connected with Xenophon, whom he engaged to educate his ſons at Sparta, that they might be taught, as he ſaid, the firſt of all ſciences, to know how to obey and to command; and it is from thence we ſee the hiſtorian too much prejudiced in his favour. The extravagant encomiums which he has laviſhed upon Ageſilaus cannot conceal the defects in the character of that illuſtrious Spartan, who was ſometimes unjuſt, paſſionate and arrogant, and always too fond of war. Plutarch mentions, that when in Aſia he cauſed his tent to be pitched in the ſacred groves, that the gods might be witneſſes of his moſt ſecret actions. The motive was excellent; but what need was there for his going to the ſacred groves? This fierce hero was a child among his children, and uſed to toy and play with them. Some perſon having ſurpriſed him when ſo employed, he begged him not to mention it, till he himſelf ſhould be a father.

Some particulars of that hero.

State of Greece till the reign of Philip.

The affairs of Greece deſerve very little notice, till Philip began his ambitious projects. They were become, if we may uſe the expreſſion, like a machine whoſe ſprings were much worn, ill fitted, and expoſed to break on the firſt ſhock. An univerſal ſpirit of party, and the intereſt of individuals, generated cabals, and annihilated every noble idea. Every city had a deſire to domineer over the reſt, though incapable of preſerving order among its own members. Sparta languiſhed; Thebes was no longer any thing; Athens became daily weaker and weaker, ſo that Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium rebelled againſt her. Three able generals that ſtill remained to her, Chabrias, Iphicrates and Timotheus, diſappeared in a very ſhort time; the firſt was ſlain before the iſle of Chios; the two others were accuſed by the faction of Chares, one of their colleagues,

Chabrias, Iphicrates and Timotheus, generals of Athens.

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a vain man and perfectly indifferent about the good of the ſtate; Timotheus quitted his country, becauſe he could not pay a fine which he did not deſerve to have impoſed upon him; and Iphicrates procured himſelf to be acquitted, by arming a number of young men, whoſe daggers intimidated the judges. *I muſt have been an egregious fool*, ſaid he, *to carry on war for the Athenians, and not do it for myſelf.* This was the language of a rebel, inſulting the laws of his country. All the undertakings of the Athenians failed, becauſe they were led by their orators, and thoſe people who rebelled againſt her authority remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of their liberty.

Mauſolus and Artemiſia.

Rhodes and Cos did not long enjoy their freedom; for Mauſolus, king of Caria, ſubjected them to his dominion. His wife, Artemiſia, is celebrated for the honours ſhe paid to his aſhes. The different accounts given of her by hiſtorians afford ample room for criticiſm; for while ſome deſcribe her as immerſed in the deepeſt ſorrow, others repreſent her as gaining victories at the head of her army. A great deal of time would be loſt in examining ſuch details, where, perhaps, more falſehood than truth has been admitted.

Objects not worthy of our attention.

Not to loſe ſight of the general thread of affairs, to which our ſtudies principally relate, I have paſſed over a great many uſeleſs particulars. Evagoras and Nicocles, kings of Salamis in Cyprus, who were celebrated by Iſocrates, upon whom Nicocles had beſtowed many favours, were unqueſtionably valuable princes; but would ſcarcely have been known, had it not been for that orator's rhetoric. The court of Perſia continued for a long time a ſcene of intrigues, revolutions and crimes; but we ſhall ſee too many ſuch ſpectacles in more intereſting periods. Let us paſs ſlightly over uſeleſs anecdotes of antiquity, which can only ſerve to retard us in our career. The names only of ancient hiſtory, which have been heaped up by modern writers, are an oppreſſive load upon the memory.

BOOK FOURTH.

From the Beginning of the Reign of PHILIP, till the ROMANS ſubdued GREECE.

CHAP. I.

The Reign of Philip of Macedon, till his Power was eſtabliſhed in Greece.

Macedonia deſpiſed before the time of Philip.

A PRINCE of abilities, with a genius for war, was all that was wanting, to take advantage of the declining ſtate of Greece, and bring the whole country under his dominion; and ſuch a prince at this time made his appearance. We are about to ſee a monarchy, hitherto almoſt unknown, weak, deſpiſed, and ſo deſpicable, as never once to have been governed by a man of eminent genius, imperceptibly raiſe itſelf to the very ſummit of worldly greatneſs. Though the kings of Macedonia alledged that they were the deſcendants of Hercules, the Greeks did not look upon them as a part of their nation, and treated them as barbarians. This kingdom had ſubſiſted for more than four hundred years, yet it had almoſt always ſtood in need of the protection either of Sparta or Athens, and never once had any ſhare of the glory gained by theſe republics. The example of Thebes has juſt proved to us, that the genius of an individual is capable of bringing about the moſt important revolutions when circumſtances are favourable.

Before J. C. 360. Philip choſen king inſtead of his nephew.

After the death of Amyntas II. (three hundred and ſeventy five years before J. C.) Macedonia was torn in pieces with calamities and diſſentions. His ſon Perdiccas, who was the rightful heir, having fallen in the war againſt the Illyrians, Pauſanias and Argeus contended for the throne of young Amyntas, the ſon of Perdiccas. At the time that Pelopidas came to ſettle the diſtractions of this kingdom, as we formerly mentioned, Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, was carried hoſtage to Thebes; but

but upon this occaſion he fled to his own country, where he governed for ſome time as regent for his nephew, till the people choſe him king, as they alledged that they had need of a man, and not a child, to reſtore their affairs.

He diſciplines the Macedonians.

Philip, who was then twenty four years old, and had been the pupil of Epaminondas, no ſooner mounted the throne, than he ſhewed himſelf worthy of wearing a crown. One of the firſt objects of his attention was to diſcipline his people, and to train them to the art of war; for which purpoſe he invented the phalanx. It was a body of ſix or ſeven thouſand men drawn up ſixteen deep, and armed with long pikes, in ſuch proportion, that thoſe of the laſt rank extended two feet beyond the firſt, ſo that the whole together preſented an inacceſſible and impenetrable front. His ſoldiers, whom he treated with kindneſs, calling them his companions, and ſetting them the example on all occaſions, became ſo many heroes, and the claims of Pauſanias and Argeus to the crown, were very ſoon relinquiſhed.

His phalanx.

His deep and artful policy.

Courage and military ſkill were not the only qualities by which Philip paved the way to his future greatneſs; to them, he added a well concerted policy, which was ſtill more uſeful in promoting his ſchemes of ambition. He overreached the Athenians by his promiſes, and having concluded a treaty with them, they very ſoon ſaw him take poſſeſſion of Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, which he converted into a barrier between him and Greece. He ſpeedily became deſirous to govern, and to aggrandize himſelf; ſtratagems, corruption, the art of ſowing diſſenſions, the making or breaking alliances as they happened to ſuit his purpoſe, ſkill in negotiating, or the employment of force when it was requiſite, and indeed every method which genius could invent, lawful and unlawful, were equally employed to carry his point, and made the principal ſtrength of King Philip.

He procured aſſociates and traitors by dint of money.

He diſcovered gold mines in Macedonia, which brought him a yearly revenue of more than a thouſand talents, and theſe he employed as the chief inſtrument of

of his policy, every where purchaſing aſſociates, or briboing traitors. *No fortification*, ſaid he, *is impregnable, provided a mule loaded with money can find admittance into it.* If the oracle of Delphos replied to him, as Suidas relates, *Fight with money, and you will ſurmount every difficulty*, certainly it was an anſwer not dictated by juſtice.

He undertakes nothing until maturely weighed.

The Abbé Mably obſerves, "That the generality of "undertakings fail from no cauſe ſo common, as that "of their being begun to be executed the inſtant that "the deſign is conceived, and as obſtructions have not "been foreſeen, no preparations can have been made to "ſurmount them; therefore being in no condition to "reſiſt the firſt accidents which happen, the projectors "find themſelves frequently overpowered, and, inſtead "of being maſters of the event, are compelled to yield "to circumſtances; for politics being as uncertain as "fortune, there are no rules to ſerve for inſtruction." We daily ſee this reflection verified. Philip, while deliberating upon his deſigns, weighed the means againſt the obſtructions, and by uniting all the parts of his ſyſtem knew how to command fortune. If ambition had not been the ſpring of all his politics, men in power could not chooſe a better model.

He attaches the Theſſalians to his intereſt, & attacks the Olynthians.

He freed Theſſalia from oppreſſive tyranny, and by that means ſecured a people to his intereſt, from whom he expected to derive very important ſervices. The Theſſalian cavalry, added to his phalanx, gave him a great ſuperiority; and to protect his own kingdom, he took poſſeſſion of ſome towns in Thrace. Thinking that Olynthus, an Athenian colony, might be of great conſequence to him, after having deceived the Olynthians, he laid ſiege to their city; they applied to the Athenians for aſſiſtance, but Philip, by means of his money, had ſecured ſome penſioners in that city, who were entirely devoted to his intereſt.

Before J. C. 347. The Athenians did not ſend ſufficient ſuccours.

In the mean time, Demoſthenes, his moſt formidable enemy, awakened ſome patriotic ſentiments by the powers of his eloquence, and a few troops were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Olynthians, but they were inſufficient,

as

as was likewiſe a ſecond party with which they were reinforced; therefore inſtead of mercenary troops, of whom the Olynthians complained, they ſent ſome Athenians, who unfortunately ſucceeded no better than the others, and Olynthus was delivered to him by two traitors. Philip, though pleaſed with the treachery, deſpiſed its authors; who, being inſulted even by the Macedonians, complained to the king, and begged ſatisfaction; but, inſtead of attending to their complaint, he gave them the following ſtinging reply: *What need you to regard the diſcourſe of a parcel of ruſticks, who know no better than to call every thing by its proper name?*

Demoſthenes the declared enemy of Philip.

If Demoſthenes had lived in better times, when his country was fired with that zeal for glory and noble enterpriſes which it had formerly ſhewn, he probably would have raiſed ſome inſurmountable obſtacles to the progreſs of the ambitious Macedonian. A powerful, nervous, intrepid orator, he darted the thunder of his eloquence againſt his adverſaries, firing his hearers with the ſame zeal with which himſelf was animated, while all the arguments of his opponents were levelled with the duſt: from his mouth, the words glory, liberty, and public good, had irreſiſtible influence. Apprized of the intentions of Philip, he thought of nothing but how to thwart them, as his hatred againſt that monarch exceeded all bounds.

Athens was no longer capable of great attempts.

The Athenians were unhappily ſo greatly degenerated, that they could no longer be known for the ſame people; love of liberty was loſt in indolence and effeminacy; crouds of venal wretches yielded to every kind of corruption; the magiſtracy and public employments were the rewards of contemptible and mean intrigues; mercenary troops were employed in the room of her own citizens; the people, become the ſport of flattering declaimers, were ſatisfied, provided that pleaſures and praiſes were laviſhed upon them, and the treaſures of the ſtate waſted in exhibiting public ſpectacles.

Pericles, while he diſtributed in ſupport of the games a thouſand talents, which formerly uſed to be placed annually

The theatre swallowed up the funds which should have supported the state in carrying on war.

annually in reserve to answer the necessities of the state, at least excepted those times when the nation was engaged in a war; but Eubulus, the opponent of Demosthenes, obtained a law, forbidding the distribution to be interrupted under pain of death; so that, by a very extraordinary decree, the funds, which ought to have been dedicated to support the expense of carrying on war, became the support of trifling exhibitions. At two different times, Demosthenes made an indirect attack upon this horrid abuse; by proposing that commissioners should be appointed to inquire into the laws, and abolish all such as were found hurtful to the republic. Vain attempts! The Athenians wanted amusement, and the theatre was much more interesting to them than the good of their country.*

Imprudent politics of Demosthenes

When a people are become so debased, such brave and steady efforts as were necessary to defeat Philip were not to be expected; and the orator should have directed all his power to take the advantage of such conjunctures as seemed favourable; but, more zealous than wise, he acted as if the same spirit still prevailed in Athens, as in the time of Aristides and Themistocles; and we shall see the dismal consequences of his ardour. He had already shewn himself a bad politician in the affair of Olynthus; for, at the time that a decisive blow was wanted, he proposed to send only a body of two thousand men, to make some ineffectual incursions; which were more likely to provoke, than to prevent, a powerful enemy from doing whatever he pleased. Philip had already attempted to possess himself of Thermopylæ, the great pass into Greece; and at last an opportunity of establishing his power in that country presented itself.

Sacred war against the Phocians.

A war, which was called the *sacred war*, because it was carried on under a false pretence of religion mixed with fanaticism, had distracted Greece for about ten years. The Phocians, who lived in the neighbourhood of

* According to Plutarch *(de glor. Athen.)* the representation of some tragedies cost more money than it had done to defend Greece against the Persians. He exclaims loudly against that indiscretion which sacrificed the good of the state to the pleasures of the theatre.

of the temple of Delphos, having ploughed up ſome lands conſecrated to Apollo, who was worſhipped there, the other people of the neighbourhood, either to revenge the cauſe of the deity, or to gratify their own animoſity, inſtantly took up arms againſt them. Though the council of the Amphictyons condemned them as being guilty of ſacrilege, they pretended to defend what they had done, by alledging that it was their right, and that they were authorized ſo to do by the oracle. Almoſt all Greece joined one party or the other; Sparta and Athens in favour of the Phocians, while Thebes and ſeveral others contended for the rights of the temple; and they fought moſt furiouſly. The Thebans put to death all the Phocians whom they made priſoners, as execrable wretches, who had been guilty of the groſſeſt profanity; and the Phocians in their turn ſacrificed the Theban priſoners to their revenge. Philip, as a by-ſtander, looked with complacency upon a diviſion ſo favourable to his ſchemes, and ſaw the inveteracy of this mutual hatred with ſecret ſatisfaction. The more the Greeks weakened themſelves by their domeſtic quarrels, he reckoned himſelf the more ſecure of making an eaſy conqueſt; and, by appearing neuter, hoped to take advantage of the diſpute.

Before J. C. 355.

The rage of both parties.

The Thebans, finding themſelves too weak to contend againſt their enemies, at laſt ſued to Philip for protection; and he gladly took the opportunity to declare himſelf. The Athenians, heartily tired of the Thracian war, ſent an embaſſy to him on purpoſe to negociate a peace; but he bribed the ambaſſadours, and took their towns while they were amuſing themſelves upon the road; and, when his conqueſts were completed, he ſigned the treaty. He refuſed to admit the Phocians, whoſe ſacrilege afforded him a ſpecious pretence for his invaſion; and, arriving in a little time at Thermopylæ, took poſſeſſion of that paſſage without oppoſition, and immediately entered Phocis; upon which the Phocians, hitherto unconquerable, laid down their arms, and he brought the ſacred war to an end, without fighting; by this

Philip declares himſelf, and deceives the Athenians.

Before J. C. 346. He finiſhes the ſacred war.

this means gaining the reputation of being a religious prince, which was a character he was very ſolicitous to obtain, that it might promote his future purpoſes.

He is admitted into the council of the Amphictyons.

When the council of the Amphictyons was aſſembled, he dictated a ſentence to them, which commanded, that every town in Phocis ſhould be deſtroyed, and all who were guilty of ſacrilege proſcribed. The Phocians were excluded from making a part of the council of Amphictyons, and he required that he might be ſubſtituted in their place. Beſides the advantage of being admitted into the council, he procured the management of the Pythian games, which was taken from the Corinthians on pretence of their having aſſiſted thoſe who were guilty of ſacrilege. Never did prince know better how to turn the ſuperſtition of the vulgar to his own advantage.

Ancient ſacred war

There had been formerly a firſt *ſacred war*, undertaken by the Spartans, with a deſign of taking the care of the temple of Delphos from the Phocians, and giving it to the Delphians; but Pericles reſtored the privilege to the Phocians; and, as fanaticiſm had no ſhare in the conteſt, the war did no great harm. I thought this was the proper place to mention it.

CHAP. II.

To the End of the Reign of Philip of Macedon.

Philip concerts new ſchemes.

PHILIP was no longer a ſtranger among the Greeks, but, in quality of Amphictyon, was become one of their body; they had already begun to reſpect and obey him, and opinion went a great way to ſmooth the road for his new ſchemes; ſo that by intrigue and force of arms he could very ſoon have accompliſhed his purpoſes. But ſtill this able prince thought proper to diſſemble, for fear of alarming them with ſuſpicions, and ſtartling the minds of the people at the very inſtant when it was of the greateſt conſequence to conciliate them. He returned to Macedonia, not to watch opportunities,

opportunities, but to prepare for gaining new conquests. He carried his arms into Illyria, Thrace and Chersonesus; and, in proportion as he grew stronger, proceeded more boldly, taking possession of a part of the Isle of Æubea (Negropont) which he called *the fetters of Greece*, becauſe its coaſt was very near the continent. Demoſthenes thundered againſt him, and his *Philippics* began to rouſe the Athenians; however, Philip did not deſiſt from laying ſiege to Perinthus and Byzantium, with a view of ſtarving Athens, which depended upon Thrace for the greateſt part of its proviſions.

Philippics of Demoſthenes

At the ſame time the king of Macedonia, in a very eloquent letter, attempted to perſuade them that he had the moſt religious regard for treaties, while they on their part did not heſitate to violate them, and particularly reproached the Athenians with having ſolicited the king of Perſia to join againſt him. *Your fathers*, ſaid he, *upbraided the ſon of Piſiſtratus with having called in the Perſians to fight againſt the Greeks, as an unpardonable offence; but you yourſelves do not bluſh to commit the ſame crime which you always condemned in your tyrants.* It is certain that Demoſthenes perſuaded them to take this ſtep, and did not ceaſe to inveigh againſt Philip till the Athenians took up arms. He aſſured them of victory, and the total deſtruction of their enemy; but their general, Chares, whom they ſent to the aſſiſtance of Byzantium and Perinthus, having been unſucceſsful, and the allies unwilling to receive him, from an idea that he was a man of a bad character, a rapacious voluptuary, not worthy of the command, they appointed the illuſtrious Phocion to be his ſucceſſor. The Athenians ſhewed themſelves a very different people under a commander who was equally conſpicuous for his many virtues, and his ſkill as a great warrior; and Philip had the prudence to withdraw his army; upon which the Perinthians, Byzantines, and the people of Cherſoneſus, gave a remarkable proof of their gratitude, by decreeing crowns of gold to the Athenians.

Philip reproaches the Athenians for having applied to the court of Perſia for help.

Demoſthenes makes them take up arms.

Phocion appointed general.

Phocion, a diſciple of Plato, a true philoſopher both in

Picture of that great man.

in practice and principle, in whom every valuable talent and virtue were united, deſerved to be ranked among the firſt of the Grecian heroes. His laconic eloquence, where every word, if we may uſe the expreſſion, was an argument, frequently defeated Demoſthenes, whoſe hazardous politics he by no means approved. That orator called him *the axe of his orations*. Though an enemy to war, becauſe he ſaw into the conſequences, he was choſen forty five times to the command of the army; which is a ſufficient proof of the confidence the people had in his zeal and abilities. However, his rigid probity ſeemed to cenſure the Athenian manners; and, far from ever flattering the people, he almoſt always oppoſed their ſentiments. He was ſo convinced of the giddy weakneſs of the Athenians, that one day, when he was delivering an oration univerſally applauded by the people, he ſaid to one of his friends who ſtood by him, *Pray have I not let ſlip ſome ſilly expreſſion?*

His politics ſuperiour to thoſe of Demoſthenes.

As all Phocion's deſires centred in the good of his country, he conſtantly adviſed them to ſeek peace, though in time of war the Athenians were obliged always to apply to him to command their army. Demoſthenes, bold in the council, but a coward in the field, continually endeavoured to kindle the flames of war, by perſuading the people that upon it depended the ſafety and honour of their country. By their characters we may judge which of the two was moſt deſerving of the people's confidence; but facts are ſurer grounds for our deciſion. Ought Tourreil, whom Rollin has followed, to have taken the orations of Demoſthenes, for the foundation of his beautiful hiſtorical preface? We might as well approve of a judge deciding a cauſe, from the pleading of one party.

New religious war in Phocis.

A real or ſuppoſed ſacrilege committed by the Locrians of Amphiſſa, who were accuſed of having cultivated ſome of the ſacred lands belonging to the temple of Delphos, rekindled the war upon a religious pretence. Philip was deſirous of being choſen general of the Greeks, to act againſt the violaters and their aſſociates; and the

diligence

diligence of his penſioners accompliſhed his purpoſe; the council of the Amphictyons could not have promoted his views better, than by appointing him to the command. He very ſoon entered Greece, and took Elatæa, the moſt conſiderable place in the country of Phocis; ſeeming by this conqueſt to threaten Thebes; at leaſt it appeared ſo to Demoſthenes, who inſtantly fired the minds of the Athenians with the ſame ideas, and perſuaded them to propoſe an alliance with the Thebans, who were their enemies, and the allies of Philip. Demoſthenes, being appointed ambaſſadour, flew immediately to Thebes; where, notwithſtanding the eloquence of Python, Philip's ambaſſadour, he infuſed his own enthuſiaſm into the Thebans, and formed a league with them againſt the Macedonians. It was upon this occaſion that Phocion made the following anſwer to a paſſionate perſon, who aſked him, if he ſtill dared to mention peace: *Yes, I dare; nevertheleſs, I know that you will obey me during the war, and I ſhall obey you in time of peace.* Demoſthenes congratulated himſelf on his ſucceſs in this negotiation, becauſe he thought that an alliance with Thebes would prevent Attica from being the ſeat of the war. *But we ſhould rather think of the means by which we can ſecure a victory*, ſaid Phocion wiſely, *than on the place where we are to engage; it is that which muſt keep the war at a diſtance from us; for, if we are defeated, misfortune will reach to the gates of the city.*

Demoſthenes gets an alliance agreed upon between Athens and Thebes againſt Philip.

Phocion blames him, and with reaſon.

Reaſon was no longer attended to; and an incredible eagerneſs ſcarcely left them a moment to reflect upon the danger of their ſituation. Some unfavourable oracles were mentioned in vain; for Demoſthenes turned them into ridicule, by ſaying, that Pythia, *Philippiſed.* The Athenians haſtened their departure, and were joined by the Thebans. Philip, after having fruitleſsly made an offer of peace, penetrated into Bœotia; and, with forces nearly equal, they came to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Cheronæa. The *ſacred band* of Thebes was broken by Alexander; who, though he was not

Before J. C. 338.

Battle of Cheronæa gained by Philip.

not more than ſeventeen years of age, had upon ſeveral occaſions ſhewn that he was the worthy ſon of his father. One of the Athenian generals in his turn penetrated through a body of troops of the Macedonian army, and purſued as if the battle had been already gained. At ſight of this imprudence, Philip ſaid, *The Athenians do not know how to conquer*; and, bringing up his phalanx againſt that part of the army which was already in diſorder, defeated them, and gained a deciſive victory. To ſave himſelf, Demoſthenes threw away his arms. Upon this occaſion Phocion had been excluded from the command, and the Athenians were guilty of a double errour; the firſt was, their not having availed themſelves of his advice; and the ſecond, the depriving themſelves of the advantage of his abilities in the field; but, however, he inſpired them with ſpirit to encounter their misfortune.

He behaves with moderation on his victory.

It is ſaid, that Philip, heated with wine, and intoxicated with ſucceſs, by way of inſult ſung the firſt words of the decree which Demoſthenes obtained againſt him. It is likewiſe reported, that the orator Demades, being one of his priſoners, ſaid to him, with a generous freedom, *Since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not aſhamed to play that of Therſites?* and, that the conqueror was not diſpleaſed with the freedom of Demades. This inſtance of moderation was not ſo honourable for him, as the generous manner in which he behaved to his vanquiſhed enemies; he diſmiſſed the Athenian priſoners without ranſom, and renewed his former treaty with the republic. A moſt noble reply to the inſults which had been vomited againſt him by their orators! He granted peace to the Bœotians, but upon condition that he ſhould have a garriſon of Macedonians left in Thebes; all parties being made ſenſible, that, if he was a dangerous politician, he was no barbarian. Would theſe republicans in a ſimilar ſituation have given ſuch proofs of prudence and humanity?

Suit between Demoſthenes and Æſchines.

The Athenians, according to their uſual fickleneſs, gave themſelves up once more to the orator, who had already

already led them into the greateſt danger. They intruſted Demoſthenes with the care of having the walls rebuilt, and to procure the neceſſary ſupply of proviſions, decreeing a crown of gold to him, as the reward of his labours; which occaſioned his famous controverſy with Æſchines. Their pleadings are well known by all the lovers of eloquence; and the manner in which Demoſthenes vindicated the laſt war is highly worthy of admiration. *No, Athenians*, cried he, *no, you have not tranſgreſſed by expoſing yourſelves for the ſafety and liberties of Greece. I ſwear it by our anceſtors, by thoſe brave warriors who fought at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis, and Artemiſium; and by many other heroes, whoſe aſhes lie buried in the public monuments.* Nothing was wanting, but to make the Athenians worthy of ſuch anceſtors; but Phocion had abundant room for ſaying, *I will recommend to you to go to war, when I find you capable of ſupporting a war; when I ſee your young men filled with courage, and at the ſame time obedient; the rich cheerfully contributing to the neceſſities of the ſtate; and the orators no longer pillaging the public.* Demoſthenes's vindication of the laſt war.

Philip having become what he had long wiſhed, the umpire of Greece, either with a view of preſerving that power, or extending his conqueſts, or to render his name immortal by a moſt glorious enterpriſe, which was well calculated to diſpel all hatred and prejudice, reſolved to turn his arms againſt the king of Perſia, whoſe throne he expected at leaſt to ſhake, if it could not be overturned; and he procured himſelf to be appointed generaliſſimo of the Greeks, to carry on the expedition. He conſulted the oracle, and, as uſual, received an ambiguous reply, which could be made to anſwer any event:—*The bull is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will ſoon be ſacrificed.* He believed, or rather he perſuaded his army to believe, that the deity promiſed him ſucceſs; and, that nothing might intervene to interrupt his conqueſts, he made haſte to give away his daughter Cleopatra; but the length of his days was determined. He was publicly aſſaſſinated during the marriage Philip reſolves to carry on war againſt the Perſians. Before J. C. 336. Philip aſſaſſinated.

marriage feſtivals by Pauſanias, a young nobleman, who had been brutally affronted by Attalus, uncle of Cleopatra, and to whom the king had refuſed to do juſtice. Philip fell the victim of that vengeance, after a reign of twenty four years, and in the forty eighth of his age.

Demoſthenes and the Athenians expreſs their joy indecently.

Demoſthenes, being privately informed of his death, haſtened to the council, pretending that he had had a myſterious dream, which foreboded ſome extraordinary good fortune to the republic. As ſoon as the news was ſpread abroad, indecent expreſſions of ſatisfaction broke forth all over the city, of which the orator ſet the example, though his own daughter had been but a few days dead. He cauſed ſacrifices of thanks to be offered up to the gods, and a crown to be decreed to Pauſanias, the murderer of Philip. Such a mean proceeding ſufficiently diſplays the character of Demoſthenes. Thoſe excellent maxims, of which he made ſuch parade in the orator's chair, were not ſo much the expreſſion of his own ſentiments, as the ſprings by which he obtained the gratification of his paſſions.

Vices and great qualifications intermixed in the character of Philip.

Hiſtory upbraids Philip with being guilty of vices unworthy a man of honour, ſuch as intemperance, debauchery and treachery. He ſaid, *That children are to be amuſed with toys, and men with oaths:* an expreſſion which was likewiſe attributed to Lyſander. Intereſt was the main ſpring of all his actions; and it is certain that no one ever exceeded him in employing all the ſubtilties of an artful policy for accompliſhing his purpoſes; but, if he had not been poſſeſſed of very eminent abilities, he never could have ſucceeded; ſo that if there is room to cenſure him, there is likewiſe an ample field for our admiration. The extent of his genius, the reſources of his prudence, his intrepid courage, that juſtice and humanity, of which he often gave moſt eminent proofs, all together conſpire to ſhew him the pupil of Epaminondas.

His attention to the education of his ſon Alexander

He had experienced the advantages of a good education too well to let him be inattentive in procuring the ſame for a ſon who was born with the happieſt diſpoſitions.

tions. He conſidered the character of being a great warrior only in a ſubordinate rank, and wiſhed to ſtore his mind with the moſt profound knowledge. Ariſtotle, the greateſt philoſopher of the age, was to be the inſtructor of Alexander; and Philip thought himſelf happy, when that prince was born, if he could ſecure for him ſuch a maſter. The letter which he wrote to the philoſopher may ſerve as a leſſon to crowned heads: *I have a ſon, for whom I am not ſo thankful to the gods, as for their having given him to me in the time of Ariſtotle. I flatter myſelf with the hope of your making him worthy to ſucceed me, and to reign in Macedonia.* Alexander was the ſon of Olympias, who was afterwards divorced; and when the other ſons of Philip were one day day queſtioning his right to the ſucceſſion, he received the following advice from his father: *Have patience, my ſon, and conduct yourſelf in ſuch a manner before your brothers, that it may ſeem that the crown deſcends to you, rather on account of your own merit, than from my choice.*

His letter to Ariſtotle.

Advice to his ſon.

Among the great number of extraordinary anecdotes which are related of Philip, the following are the moſt worthy of being remembered. One of his domeſtics, every morning before he gave audience, repeated to him, *Remember, ſir, that you are mortal.* Knowing the value of truth, even when his vanity was hurt by it, he ſaid, *That he was much obliged to the Athenian orators, who, by their abuſe, had taught him to correct his errours.* A priſoner, who was juſt going to be ſold, having boldly reproached him—*Let that man be ſet at liberty*, ſaid he; *I did not know that he was one of my friends.*

His love of truth.

When he was deſired to diſmiſs from his ſervice a worthy man who had cenſured him—*Let us examine firſt*, ſaid he, *whether we have not given him reaſon for upbraiding us.* This bold cenſurer was poor, and Philip relieved his wants, when his reproaches were immediately converted into praiſe; upon which Philip very judiciouſly obſerved, *That it depended upon princes themſelves, whether they were loved or hated.* And I will readily add, that to make themſelves beloved is of all things the moſt eaſy.

His moderation.

A

His juſtice

A woman, againſt whom he had given a deciſion at his leaving a feaſt, cried out, that ſhe appealed *to Philip faſting*. He inquired into the affair anew, and made amends for his former injuſtice. Another woman, of a low rank in life, having been put off from day to day, on pretence that he had not leiſure to give her audience, at laſt bid him, *Ceaſe then to be king*. He immediately gratified her, and from that time forward was more attentive to the firſt duty of royalty.

Unjuſt contempt with which Demoſthenes ſpoke of him.

This was the prince of whom Demoſthenes ſpoke in ſuch degrading language. *Where is that indignation*, ſaid he, *which uſed to break out againſt Philip; who, far from being a Greek, or having any connection with Greeks, even far from being of illuſtrious deſcent among the barbarians, is only a wretched Macedonian, native of a country from whence we have never ſeen even a good ſlave?* Here we have a ſingular inſtance of Athenian vanity. Philip ſhewed himſelf greatly ſuperiour, when, laughing at the abſurd cuſtom of chooſing ten generals annually, he ſaid, *I have not been able, in the whole of my life, to find more than one general* (Parmenio), *but the Athenians can eaſily find ten every year.*

IV. Philippic.

CHAP. III.

Reign of Alexander, till the Battle of Arbela.

Alexander very promiſing in his youth.

AN Alexander was wanted to occupy the place of Philip, and every action of his youth had already announced that greatneſs, which he was afterwards to attain. The inſtructions of his father, added to the leſſons of Ariſtotle,* formed his mind to politics, to war, philoſophy, and learning. His taſte for the Iliad of Homer was worthy of a hero. His love of glory did not prevent him from diſtinguiſhing what was moſt worthy

His love of glory.

* He ſaid, *That he was indebted to the one for life, and to the other for teaching him how to live properly.* This was not a ſufficient acknowledgment of what he owed to his father; but he was jealous of Philip's glory, and remembered his being divorced from his mother Olympias.

worthy of his purſuit; and when his friends aſked him, if he would not contend for the prize at the Olympic games, he replied, *That he would, if he could have kings for antagoniſts.* Nothing can give a better idea of his character, than the converſation which he had one day with the ambaſſadours of the king of Perſia.

His diſcourſe with the Perſian ambaſſadours.

Inſtead of queſtioning them about the wonders of Aſiatic magnificence, which was a ſubject for the curioſity of numbers of people already advanced to maturity, he inquired the particulars of the road which led into Upper Aſia, the diſtance of the places, the ſtrength of the nation, the nature of the government, and the conduct of their monarch. It is reported, that the aſtoniſhed ambaſſadours ſaid to one another, *This young prince is a great man, ours is a rich one.* Men of obſervation could foreſee, by ſuch ſtrokes, what ſort of undertakings he would engage in, and to what pitch of greatneſs he would arrive.

His ambition.

He did not endeavour to conceal that ambition with which he was conſumed. On receiving the news of ſome important action or exploit performed by Philip, *My father*, ſaid he to his friends, *will take every thing, and leave nothing to be done by us.* Such men, according to the uſe they make of their talents and power, become either an honour or a ſcourge to mankind.

Before J. C. 336. He is deſpiſed, but makes himſelf formidable.

When Alexander aſcended the throne at twenty years of age, all the nations whom his father had brought under ſubjection thought they had regained their liberty. The barbarians immediately took up arms: Demoſthenes, who was better ſkilled in the arts of perſuaſion, than in judging of the characters of men, ſtirred up the Greeks to unite againſt *a child, a ſimpleton* (theſe were his expreſſions) whoſe weakneſs expoſed his own kingdom to imminent danger. The Macedonians, diſmayed at theſe preparations, adviſed the young prince to try to ward off the blow by methods of inſinuating gentleneſs; but he thought it was better to deſtroy his enemies by a ſpirited blow. The Triballi, the Illyrians, the Thracians, the Getæ, and ſome other barbarians, ſuffered for

their audacious indiſcretion; and when he had given ſuch proofs of his ſteadineſs and courage, he fell with a heavy hand upon the Greeks.

Deſtroys Thebes.

A part of the Macedonian garriſon which was left in Thebes having been maſſacred by the Thebans, he ſat down with his army before the city, offering pardon to the inhabitants, upon condition that they would deliver up the guilty; but unluckily they were obſtinate, and, being defeated, he took their town, and abandoned it to be pillaged and deſtroyed by his ſoldiers. He ſaved the prieſts, and the deſcendants of the poet Pindar; but about thirty thouſand inhabitants were ſold to ſlavery. A dreadful puniſhment for rebellion!

A remarkable inſtance of female courage.

A Theban lady, whoſe name was Timoclea, having been violated by a captain of Alexander's army, ſhe ſhewed him a well, into which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had thrown her money and jewels; when he came near to it, this courageous woman puſhed him in headlong, and buried him under a heap of ſtones which ſhe threw upon him. Alexander, being informed of what had happened, far from puniſhing her, immediately ſet her at liberty.

He pardons the Athenians.

The Athenians, terrified at ſuch ſeverity, ſent to ſue for peace, and Demoſthenes was choſen one of the embaſſy; but, being ſeized with fear while upon the road, he withdrew from his colleagues. What a contraſt between his language and ſentiments! Alexander at firſt inſiſted, that ten of the moſt remarkable orators, who had ſhewn the greateſt zeal againſt him, ſhould be delivered up to him; but he was ſatisfied with the baniſhment of Charidemus; ſhewing as remarkable a proof of clemency to Athens, as he had of ſeverity to Thebes.

He cauſes himſelf to be declared generaliſſimo of the Greeks againſt the Perſians.

Having in one campaign made himſelf maſter of all Greece, he aſſembled the deputies of the towns at Corinth, and propoſed to them to ſubdue the Perſian empire; for which purpoſe he got himſelf appointed generaliſſimo; which was as much as Philip could accompliſh in the whole of his reign. The principal citizens, and even the philoſophers, waited upon him with their congratulations; but Diogenes not appearing, he was

deſirous

desirous to go and see this extraordinary man, who seemed to look with contempt upon whatever others were desirous to value. He was witness of that haughty independence, which the philosopher affected, though beset with poverty; and could not help exclaiming, *If I was not Alexander, I would wish to be Diogenes.* He visits Diogenes.

At his return to Macedonia he hastened his preparations, and then set out, refusing to marry, lest time should be wasted in the celebration of his nuptials. He was very liberal of his presents to those officers whose attachment to him was of importance. One of them having asked him, what he intended to reserve to himself, he replied, *Hope*. Antipater, with thirteen thousand men, was intrusted with the care of Macedonia; while his own army consisted only of thirty five thousand; but they were excellent troops, and commanded by his oldest and best officers. When he set out, the whole of his funds for carrying on this expedition amounted only to seventy talents, and provisions for one month. Preparations for his expedition into Persia.

According to all the rules of prudence, it was exceeding rash to attempt the conquest of Asia with such slender means. One adverse stroke might have occasioned the loss of Macedonia; but Alexander depended upon his own good fortune, and the incapacity of the prince whose crown he wanted to seize, on pretence of being revenged on the Persians for the many insults they had offered the Greeks. Rashness of this enterprise.

The empire of Cyrus for a long time had been threatened with ruin. Its excessive grandeur was a leading cause of its destruction. The errours of their mode of government, the slavery of the people, and the depravity of their princes, all together contributed to hasten its fall. The satraps (governours of provinces) were at too great a distance from the court, and lived like so many independent kings. A great multitude of nations, who had nothing in common but slavery, formed one great body, but without any union, and were ever ready to fall in pieces. Their great king was nothing but an effeminate State of the Persian empire.

feminate deſpot, whoſe court was filled with every ſpecies of wickedneſs.

Ochus the tyrant aſſaſſinated.

After the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon (361), his ſon and ſucceſſor Ochus, ſtained with the blood of two brothers, cauſed his ſiſter Ocha, whoſe daughter he married, to be buried alive; and his inſatiable rage had been employed againſt all the eminent men of his kingdom. Phenicia and Egypt revolted; Sidon was burnt by its own inhabitants; Egypt, being ſubdued, ſuffered moſt enormous barbarities; her deities were inſulted, and the archives of the kingdom carried off from the temples. Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, having become the miniſter and confidant of Ochus, ſome time afterwards revenged his country, by murdering the tyrant. Arſes, one of the king's ſons, ſucceeded; but the eunuch likewiſe cauſed him ſoon to be aſſaſſinated.

336. Darius Codomannus.

In the room of Arſes, he placed upon the throne Darius Codomannus, a prince of the royal family, whom he alſo would have aſſaſſinated, but Darius defeated his intentions by inflicting on him the puniſhment he deſerved. This monarch was poſſeſſed of ſome good qualities, but was deficient both in politics and reſolution. His errours contributed very much to the ſucceſs of Alexander, but there are fatal circumſtances when miſtakes ſeem inevitable, even to men of eminent abilities.

Before J. C. 334. Alexander in Aſia.

Alexander paſſed the Helleſpont, and having arrived in Phrygia, paid his reſpects at the tomb of Achilles, whom he declared that he envied for having a faithful friend during his life, and an excellent poet to ſing his praiſes after death. Filled with that enthuſiaſm which the fame of great men always inſpires, he paſſed the Granicus in preſence of the Perſian army, and put them to flight. Beſide that this dangerous action ſuited the impetuoſity of his temper, he thought it was neceſſary to ſtrike a bold ſtroke, to intimidate the Perſians. He knew that ſucceſs frequently depended upon opinion, and that the very firſt ſtep was often deciſive.

Prudent advice of Memnon not followed by the Perſians.

If the Perſians had been adviſed by Memnon of Rhodes, who was the beſt general in the army of Darius, they

they would have avoided an engagement, and by laying waſte the country muſt have ſtarved the Greeks, who were already in want of proviſions; but the ſatrap of Phrygia oppoſed this opinion, leſt the lands of his own province ſhould ſuffer; and if it had not been for him, Alexander muſt have been infallibly ruined. Upon what trifles the fate of empires often depends! The opinion of an individual may either ſave, or bring them to deſtruction. In the next place, Memnon adviſed his maſter to carry the war into Macedonia, that Alexander might be compelled to return for the protection of his own country; which was a very judicious plan, eſpecially as Sparta and the other Grecian ſtates wiſhed for the ruin of the Macedonian prince. Darius approved of the advice, and intruſted Memnon himſelf with the execution of his project; but that general having fallen at the ſiege of Mytilene, the only means which remained of averting the ſtorm was relinquiſhed.

Though Memnon defended Miletus and Halicarnaſſus, Aſia Minor had already yielded. Alexander ſent home the greateſt part of his fleet, either on account of the very great expenſe, or to ſhew his ſoldiers that they muſt conquer or die; and his rapid progreſs vindicated the boldneſs of this meaſure. Returning towards Tarſus by way of Cappadocia, he paſſed through the narrow defiles of Cilicia, which the enemy, not daring to wait his approach, had already abandoned. He took poſſeſſion of the riches of Tarſus before they were conſumed, to which they were expoſed by the Perſians having ſet fire to the city. Tarſus taken by Alexander.

It was here that he was ſeized with a violent diſorder, which he brought upon himſelf, by bathing in the river Cydnus, while he was covered with ſweat, and of which he was cured by his phyſician Philip. Parmenio wrote to him, that his phyſician had been bribed, and agreed to poiſon him. The information was not true, but it might have thrown his mind into a dangerous agitation. He ſhewed the letter to Philip, and at the ſame inſtant ſwallowed a medicine which he had preſented to him. His illneſs and ſtrength of mind.

The

The only favour that I have to beg of you, ſaid the phyſician, *is, not to be uneaſy, and your cure will be my juſtification.* Alexander muſt have been deſtroyed, if his mind had not been unſhaken: fear or diſtruſt would have killed him, but he was preſerved by his ſteady, uniform courage.

Before J. C. 332. Imprudence of Darius.

Darius, inſtead of waiting the Greeks, as he was adviſed, in the great plains of Aſſyria, where the whole of his troops might have acted, imprudently advanced to give battle to Alexander, and entering Cilicia by the paſs of Amanus, entangled himſelf in a defile, where the greateſt part of his army could not be brought into action. No deſpot can endure to hearken to any advice which mortifies his pride; and Charidemus, an Athenian who had fled for ſhelter into Perſia, was put to death for having given one which ought to have been followed; but the battle of Iſſus very ſoon humbled the preſumption of the great king, who was taught, to his coſt, that an innumerable army, badly diſciplined, and ſtill worſe conducted, can avail nothing againſt excellent troops led by a hero. Thirty thouſand Greeks, whom he had in his pay, were all that could contend for the victory; but Alexander broke through them, after having diſperſed the reſt of his army. Darius ſhewed at leaſt perſonal courage upon this occaſion, and did not turn to fly till he ſaw the horſes of his chariot were wounded. His loſs is ſaid to have amounted to a hundred and ten thouſand men, while Quintus Curtius reduces that of the Macedonians to four hundred and fifty.

Battle of Iſſus.

Obſervations on the writers of the hiſtory of Alexander

Quintus Curtius not to be believed.

We ought to take notice in this place how little credit is due to this elegant author, whoſe deſcriptions and ſtudied harangues are ſufficient to create diſtruſt, being much more the language of romance than of hiſtory. Beſides this eſſential imperfection, there are a number of palpable blunders to be found in his book. For example, when he deſcribes the ſplendid march of Darius's army, which might be miſtaken for a feſtival, he introduces a chariot conſecrated to Jupiter, and ornamented with

with ſtatues repreſenting the gods, as if the Perſians had known Jupiter, or not held idolatry in utter deteſtation. It is very extraordinary, that Rollin ſhould have followed Quintus Curtius, in ſuch an enlightened age, and in a work intended to convey the moſt ſerious inſtruction.

Arrian more judicious.

Among the many contradictory accounts, which have been given by the different authors who have written the hiſtory of Alexander, Arrian is the moſt deſerving of our eſteem, even if we did not know that he has followed the authorities of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus, who were officers in Alexander's army. He acquaints us with the viſit which the conqueror paid to the princeſſes who were his priſoners, and of the miſtake of Syſigambis, who threw herſelf at the feet of Hepheſtion, whom ſhe took to be Alexander, with the fine expreſſion of the king upon the occaſion. *No, mother*, ſaid he, *you are not miſtaken, for he is likewiſe Alexander.* But without aſſerting it for a fact, like other hiſtorians, he is ſatisfied with ſaying, "*There is ſuch a dignity in the expreſſion, "that if we cannot believe it, we at leaſt ought to wiſh it "to be true.*" Arrian makes no mention of Abdolonymus, whom Alexander took out of his garden to make him king of Sidon. Could ſuch a remarkable event eſcape his notice? His ſilence ſerves as a negative proof, and the more to be depended on, that the authors who take notice of the ſtory contradict one another. However, the expreſſion which Quintus Curtius has put in the mouth of Abdolonymus is not the leſs inſtructive. Alexander having aſked him with what degree of patience he ſuffered want—*I wiſh to the gods*, ſaid he, *that I may be able to bear proſperity with the ſame equality of mind. Theſe hands ſupplied all my wants; poſſeſſing nothing, I had no unſatisfied deſire.*

The adventure of Abdolonymus, probably fabulous.

Treaſures of Darius taken at Damaſcus

I muſt now return to our hiſtory, from which it is ſometimes neceſſary to withdraw for a few moments, that we may avoid thoſe errours to which we are expoſed, by hiſtorians whoſe writings are filled with falſehoods. After the battle of Iſſus, Alexander paſſed into Syria, and

and Parmenio took poſſeſſion of Damaſcus, where Darius kept his treaſures. It has been ſaid that a booty was found there, ſufficient to load ſeven thouſand beaſts of burden; and that there were likewiſe in the ſame place three hundred and twenty nine concubines belonging to the king of Perſia, and four hundred and ninety two attendants, deſtined to miniſter to his luxury and pleaſures. A train ſufficient of itſelf to make us expect a defeat. Darius wrote a haughty letter to the conqueror, to demand his mother, his wife, and his children, and to adviſe him to put an end to an iniquitous war. The anſwer, which is related very differently by Arrian and Quintus Curtius, breathes the language of a haughty conqueror. Alexander ſpeaks in it as if he had been the ſovereign of Aſia, and inſiſts upon being acknowledged as ſuch.

Alexander marches to Tyre inſtead of purſuing the enemy

Inſtead of purſuing the enemy ſo as not to give him time to breathe, he directed his courſe towards Tyre, and deſired to be admitted there, that he might offer a ſacrifice to Hercules. The Tyrians, apprehenſive of danger, ſhut their gates againſt him, at which he was ſo enraged that he reſolved to compel them; but he likewiſe had other motives to induce him to attempt this important project. He was deſirous to make himſelf maſter of the ſea, either with a view of ſubjecting Egypt, or to reſtrain the Greeks, whom he had reaſon to diſtruſt; for he found ambaſſadours, from Sparta, Athens and Thebes, at Damaſcus, intruſted to negotiate a treaty with the Perſians. The conqueror gave them much more uneaſineſs at this time than the king of Perſia.

Siege and taking of Tyre.

New Tyre, which was ſituated oppoſite to old Tyre, ſeemed to be impregnable without a fleet; but Alexander, who never was repulſed by any obſtacles, undertook to join the iſland to the continent by a cauſeway. The work was forwarded by infinite labour, but was deſtroyed by the Tyrians; the operations were renewed with freſh ardour, till the Sidonians, and ſome other people whom Alexander treated with gentleneſs, at laſt found ſhips for carrying on the enterpriſe. He

He then haſtened the ſiege, and all ſorts of warlike inſtruments were employed by both parties, beſiegers and beſieged equally ſignalizing their courage and abilities, till the place was taken by ſtorm after ſeven months reſiſtance. About eight thouſand Tyrians were put to death; thirty thouſand priſoners were ſold, and the conqueror offered up his ſacrifice to Hercules upon the ruins of Tyre.

The account of Alexander's going to Jeruſalem, by Joſephus.

According to Joſephus, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, he went next to Jeruſalem, with an intention to uſe the people of that place as he had done thoſe of Tyre, becauſe they refuſed to ſupply him with proviſions, upon pretence of the oath they had ſworn to the king of Perſia. Jaddus the chief prieſt went out to meet him, dreſſed in his pontifical habit; when Alexander, ſtruck with his figure, proſtrated himſelf to worſhip the name of God, which he carried written upon a plate of gold; declaring, at the ſame time, that this ſame high prieſt had formerly appeared to him in a dream, and had promiſed him the conqueſt of Aſia. Such a wonderful event ſhould be confirmed by ſome other evidence: the Scriptures mention nothing of it, nor even profane hiſtory, which has given vent to abundance of other wonders.

Alexander in Egypt.

Alexander, having taken the city of Gaza, which was nobly defended by Betis, entered Egypt, where he was received with every expreſſion of joy and ſatisfaction; the Perſians having made themſelves deteſted by deſpiſing the religion of the country. He allowed the Egyptians to retain their own laws and cuſtoms, which was a very proper ſtep to make them pleaſed with his holding the ſovereign authority.

He goes to the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

A ſilly piece of vanity led him to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, acroſs the ſcorching ſands, where fifty thouſand men of the army, commanded by Cambyſes, had been buried. All the hiſtorians tell us, that he extricated himſelf by a kind of miracle; they ſay, that he was deſirous to be thought the ſon of Jupiter, the oracle having given him that title; for who dared to oppoſe him? But his mother Olympias wrote to him, in raillery, not to ſet her and

Juno

Juno by the ears. He founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt, which was an undertaking more worthy of a great man, and undoubtedly much more to his honour, than the ſacrilegious flattery offered to him by the prieſt of Jupiter.

CHAP. IV.

End of the Reign of Alexander.—His Death.

Alexander refuſes the offers made to him by Darius.

SUCCESS becomes a dreadful poiſon to the minds of men, and it produced very extraordinary effects upon a hero, who ſeemed to be intended as an object for the world to admire. Darius made an offer to Alexander by a ſecond embaſſy, to give him ten thouſand talents, and his daughter in marriage, with the whole country lying between the river Euphrates and the Helleſpont. Prudence could not leave him a moment to heſitate; Parmenio ſaid, that if he was Alexander he would accept theſe offers: *And I too*, ſaid the king, *if I were Parmenio.* He haughtily rejected them; and, in his deſire to obtain all, expoſed himſelf to loſe every thing. Quintus Curtius makes him ſay, that *the world cannot endure two ſuns, nor two maſters*; but that is the language of a declaimer, who magnifies every thing to diſplay himſelf to advantage.

Before J. C. 331. Battle of Arbela.

Darius had time to aſſemble ſeven or eight hundred thouſand men, and Alexander, always attended with ſucceſs, paſſed the rivers Euphrates and Tigris without oppoſition, where he preſented himſelf in the face of the enemy, placing his whole dependence upon the known valour of his troops. The advice which Parmenio gave him, to attack the enemy in the night, muſt have loſt him this advantage; but he replied, with judgment as well as greatneſs of mind, that it did not ſuit him to ſteal a victory. The famous battle of Arbela brought him to the very ſummit of proſperity. The left wing where Parmenio commanded was in danger, and the cavalry of Darius had begun to plunder the camp, when Alexander,

Alexander, who was ſucceſsful on the other wing, ſent orders to Parmenio not to be uneaſy about his baggage, but to think only of conquering; which order had a wonderful effect, for he very ſoon gained a complete victory. Arrian reckons near three hundred thouſand of the enemy killed in the field, and leſs than twelve hundred Macedonians. Though Darius had an infinite number of men, yet he had but few ſoldiers in his army, which was the cauſe of his misfortune. He ſhewed no want of courage during the action, but was hurried along by his flying troops.

The death of Darius: His good qalities.

We cannot withhold our praiſe or compaſſion from that unfortunate prince, who became the victim of another perſon's ambition. Generous and peaceable, he met with the fate which is due only to tyrants. After having paſſed a river in his flight, he refuſed to let the bridge be broken down, as he could not think of preſerving his own life at the expenſe of the lives of ſo many of his ſubjects who were expoſed to the ſword of the enemy. Being betrayed by Beſſus, one of his ſatraps, he declined to truſt his perſon to a guard of Grecians who were attached to him, leſt it ſhould be thought an affront to the Perſians. Conſtantly purſued by Alexander, he was aſſaſſinated by Beſſus, and, when dying, charged a Macedonian, if we may believe Plutarch, to thank his enemy for his behaviour to his mother, wife, and children.

The Macedonians debauched by their conqueſts.

Babylon, Suſa, Perſepolis and Ecbatan had already fallen into the hands of the conqueror, and the immenſe riches which were found in theſe places very ſoon corrupted his army. The burning the palace of Xerxes at Perſepolis ſhould be looked upon as a prelude to thoſe exceſſes into which he was about to plunge himſelf. Arrian makes no mention of the courteſan Thais, who, according to other hiſtorians, urged him to commit that horrid barbarity while he was engaged in a ſcene of debauchery.

Alexander's debauchery.

From this time forward, we can ſcarcely trace any of thoſe virtuous ſentiments of which he had given ſo many

ny proofs; debauchery, cruelty and ingratitude tarniſhed all his glory, and he who formerly would have no cooks, but ſobriety and exerciſe, now paſſed day and night in riots and feaſting; he became fond of the luxury and ornaments of the Perſian kings, which he had formerly deſpiſed, and ſcorned the dreſs and manners of the brave Macedonians, who had been the inſtruments by which he had gained ſo many victories. He deſired that the people ſhould adore him, and laid himſelf open to murmurings and rebellion.

A conſpiracy. Death of Parmenio and his ſon.

A conſpiracy was formed againſt him in his camp, of which Philotas the ſon of Parmenio was informed, but believing it to be falſe, he neglected to mention it; however he was put to death as a traitor; yet his real offence was wounding the pride of the king, by imprudent haughtineſs. The illuſtrious Parmenio, who had been ſo highly eſteemed by Philip, and without whom Alexander had done nothing of importance, was aſſaſſinated by order of the king, probably from an apprehenſion that he would revenge the death of his ſon. Such, however, was the eſteem which the ſoldiers had for Alexander, that he diſarmed the ſeditious by a ſingle word.

New exploits.

He carried his conqueſts next into Bactriana and Sogdiana, where Beſſus had aſſumed the title of king, but was puniſhed for his wickedneſs. The Scythians, notwithſtanding their being reputed invincible, were likewiſe defeated. I muſt ſuppreſs an infinite number of particulars, and obſerve, that the ornaments with which they have been loaded by Quintus Curtius degrade the dignity of hiſtory.

Murder of Clitus.

What is much more intereſting to us, and may ſerve as an important leſſon to mankind, is the affecting ſcene which the horrid murder of Clitus preſents to our conſideration. That old officer, beloved by Alexander, whom he had ſaved in battle, retained the haughty freedom of the old manners, which having indulged too far at a feſtival, proved the occaſion of his death. Alexander, heated with wine, and boaſting of his exploits

ſo

ſo as to leſſen thoſe of his father Philip, Clitus ſo far forgot himſelf as to offend the king, by ſome expreſſions of contempt and indignation, and the haughty monarch killed him with a ſtroke of his javelin. Remorſe and deſpair were the immediate conſequences, but the courtiers found means to diſpel them. A formal decree was paſſed, that the murder of Clitus was an act of juſtice, and from that time liberty was almoſt annihilated in every heart.

Calliſthenes puniſhed for having ſpoken the truth.

However, the Macedonians did not debaſe themſelves like the other ſervile Greeks, ſo as to proſtitute divine honours by offering them to their king. One of the courtiers propoſed that it ſhould be done, upon which Calliſthenes, a ſevere inflexible philoſopher, in a diſcourſe full of evident truths, refuted what had been urged by the courtier in its favour; but Alexander ſaw nothing in this but a ſpirit of rebellion, and Calliſthenes very ſoon felt the effects of his reſentment. He was ſuſpected of being concerned in a plot formed by Hermolaus, with whom he had an intimacy; and, without any proof having been adduced againſt him, was thrown into a dungeon, where he was put to death for an imaginary offence, leaving to the king eternal ſhame, for having been guilty of a premeditated act of injuſtice.

Before J. C. 327. Exceſſive ambition of Alexander.

If Alexander had been bleſſed with as much prudent policy as his father, he would have been more ſolicitous to have ſecured than to have extended his conqueſts, and would not have attempted any but what could have been preſerved by human aid; but the more he was favoured by fortune, the more he gave himſelf up to the intoxication of his pride and vanity. The confines of the Perſian monarchy ſeemed to him to be too limited, and imagining that he ought to follow the ſteps of Bacchus and Hercules, he undertook to bring India under his dominion. We will not attempt to keep pace with him. The dangers to which he was expoſed, can add very little to the ideas we have already formed of his valour. Taxiles, one of the kings of the country, came to meet him, and, according to Plutarch, addreſſed him

He deſires to ſubdue India.

Speech of Taxiles.

him in the following language: *O Alexander, if you do not intend to deprive us of our food and our water, which are the only things for which reaſonable people ought to take up arms, wherefore ſhould we fight? As to what the world calls riches, if I have more than you, I am ready to give you a part; if I have leſs, I am willing to owe you a favour.* Alexander accepted his gifts, and loaded him with preſents, offering him, at the ſame time, his friendſhip and protection.

Porus conquered.

But Porus, another Indian king, more bold and haughty, prepared to repel the invaſion of the conqueror, who, having croſſed the Indus, arrived on the banks of the Hydaſpes, where Porus with a numerous army was expecting him upon the oppoſite ſhore. He deceived the enemy by a ſtratagem, and having happily paſſed over that large river, defeated the Indians, notwithſtanding their elephants and the courage of their king, whom he ordered to be ſpared, becauſe he had behaved like a hero. When Porus was brought into his preſence, he aſked him how he deſired to be treated? *Like a king*, anſwered Porus. *From ſelf-love I agree to that*, replied Alexander. He kept his word, and thereby gained a faithful ally.

Alexander obliged to return, viſits the ocean.

After undergoing immenſe fatigues, and ſucceeding in incredible exploits, his army refuſed to follow him any farther in unknown regions, and obliged him to return; he therefore embarked upon the Indus, that he might ſee the ocean. The ebbing and flowing of the ſea terrified his pilots, who were unacquainted with that phenomenon: however, that he might boaſt of having penetrated into unheard of places, he landed upon two little iſlands. This was all that he gained by his expedition into India.

Reflections upon his conqueſts.

If it is true, as has been reported, that Alexander exclaimed, while paſſing the Hydaſpes—*O Athenians, will you believe that I expoſe myſelf to ſo many dangers only to deſerve your praiſe?* if he had been deſirous to outlive himſelf ſome time, that he might ſee the effect which the reading of his hiſtory would have upon the minds of men;

men; reaſon would have informed him, that he ought to have rendered his name immortal, by performing actions which deſerved to be remembered, and to prefer ſolid glory to empty fame, which makes cenſure and praiſe equally immortal. Eroſtratus, to perpetuate his name, burnt the famous temple of Diana in Epheſus. Is not a conqueror, whoſe ſteps are marked with deſtruction, another Eroſtratus?

What he did on his return to Perſia.

At his return to Perſia, he endeavoured to remedy the diſorders which had been occaſioned by his abſence. He puniſhed ſome governours who had allowed themſelves to be corrupted; he quelled the mutiny which he found among the troops; he married two princeſſes of the royal family, and, that he might unite the two nations, perſuaded the Macedonians to form ſimilar engagements. He once more went to the ocean by the river Eulæus; he projected new conqueſts, and formed ſchemes for invading other countries; but his end was drawing near. The death of his favourite Hepheſtion,* who fell a ſacrifice to drunkenneſs, did not make him either more ſober or prudent; and at the age of thirty three he died from the ſame cauſe at Babylon. It is ſaid, that when his officers aſked him, who he deſired ſhould ſucceed him, he replied, *The moſt worthy*; adding, that he foreſaw his funeral would be ſtained with blood. In effect, ſuch extenſive conqueſts only terminated in civil wars, and the inevitable deſtruction of an empire, much too large to be governed by one man.

Before J. C. 323. His death

False report of his being poiſoned.

The report of his having been poiſoned, which was ſpread abroad ſome years after his death, was nothing more, as Plutarch obſerves, but the contrivance of ſome people, who thought *that this great drama ſhould be ſuited with a tragical concluſion.* His diſorder continued thirty days, of which a journal was extant. The ſame author takes notice, that he entered Babylon looking with con-

His ſuperſtitious weakneſs.

tempt

* *Hepheſtion loves Alexander*, ſaid that prince, *and Craterus loves the king.* Craterus was a worthy courtier, who retained the Macedonian manners, and had the true glory of his maſter at heart; he was therefore employed in all tranſactions with the Macedonians, and Hepheſtion in whatever related to the Perſians.

tempt upon ſome unlucky predictions by the Chaldeans; yet he was ſo affected with fears and ſuperſtition during his diſorder, that the palace was ſoon filled with prieſts and ſoothſayers. So much are ſtrong minds ſometimes intimidated by danger.

Alexander corrupted by his paſſions.

The ſtory of Alexander may ſerve as an important leſſon to mankind in general, as well as to kings. They will ſee there the effects which a great flow of ſucceſs could have upon a noble and generous ſoul, who muſt have been a model to future heroes, if he had not been contaminated with vice. The ſudden tranſitions from good to bad, from prudence to folly, from moderation to violence, from glory to ignominy, muſt make every rational being tremble upon the brink of the abyſs dug by the paſſions. The Macedonian hero very well deſerved the anſwer which was made to him by the pirate, whom he aſked what right he had to infeſt the ſeas: *The ſame which you have to infeſt the whole world. I am called a robber, becauſe I do it with one ſmall ſhip; while you are called a conqueror, becauſe you employ a great fleet.*

Encomium of that prince by Monteſquieu.

I ought not to conceal, that the celebrated Monteſquieu has written a panegyric on Alexander. "If it is "true," ſays he, "that victory gave him every thing, "it is equally true that he did every thing which could "be done to obtain victory. At his firſt ſetting out he "truſted very little to chance; but when fortune had "raiſed him ſuperiour to accidents, he ſometimes tried "what could be effected by ſtriking a bold ſtroke. He "oppoſed the opinion of thoſe people, who wiſhed to "make the Perſians ſlaves to the Greeks: for his ſole "purpoſe was to unite the two nations, and to put an "end to all diſtinction between the conquerors and the "conquered. He aſſumed the Perſian manners, that "the Perſians might not be grieved at being compelled "to adopt thoſe of the Greeks. In all his conqueſts he "ſeemed only to deſire to be the particular king of ev-"ery ſtate, and the chief citizen of every city. Averſe "from private expenſe, he was always ready to ſupply "the wants of the public. In his domeſtic economy,

"he

" he was a Macedonian; but in diſcharging the debts " due to his ſoldiers, ſharing his acquiſitions with the " Greeks, or advancing the fortune of every individual " in his army, he was Alexander. He was guilty of two " unworthy actions; he burnt Perſepolis and ſlew Clitus; " but his penitence was ſo remarkable, that while we " remember the reſpect he ſhewed for virtue, we totally " forget his offences." *Eſprit des Loix, liv.* x. *chap.* 14.

He deſerves more blame than praiſe.

Whatever regard may be due to ſuch reſpectable authority as that of Monteſquieu, yet a great part of theſe notions ſeems to be leſs ſolid than ingenious. Undoubtedly, Alexander had a moſt extenſive capacity, but he was ſo led away by the violence of his ambition, that he was not capable of forming a plan for his future conduct. He was always ſucceſsful, but often indebted to fortunate accidents, which could not have been expected, except from unadviſed raſhneſs. He ſubdued the Perſians, who had been prepared to ſubmit to a new yoke, by the deſpotiſm of their own kings; but notwithſtanding the enthuſiaſm with which the Macedonians were inſpired by his victories, their patience was at laſt exhauſted. The number of cities which he founded in different countries, but more particularly that of Alexandria in Egypt, clearly demonſtrate the greatneſs of his views; but the Abbé Mably obſerves, " That theſe " cities were looked upon by him, as trophies which the " Greeks were accuſtomed to erect in thoſe places where " they gained any ſignal victory." His continence, and the reſpect with which he behaved to the family of Darius, entitle him undoubtedly to the higheſt reverence; but can we heſitate to declare, that the ſequel of his life totally obſcured the luſtre of theſe virtues, which in the early part of it ſhone ſo conſpicuous? To conclude, if he propoſed to carry the war into Africa, Sicily, and Spain, after having conquered India almoſt to the banks of the Ganges, is not that ſufficient authority for ſaying, that he did not know the bounds within which human enterpriſes ſhould be limited?

Let us value things according to the advantages they procure. Let us praiſe Alexander for his intention of draining the marſhes in the country of Babylon, and digging a baſon in the neighbourhood of the city fit to contain a numerous fleet. Let us praiſe him for his ſchemes intended to promote commerce and navigation; but let us at the ſame time acknowledge, that he did much more harm than good; not only to the people whom he ſubjected in the courſe of his conqueſts, but likewiſe to his own ſubjects, whom he left to feel all the diſmal effects of civil diſcord. His empire was very ſoon divided, his family diſpoſſeſſed and totally extinguiſhed, ſo that he ſeems to have laboured ſolely to raiſe fortunes for his officers.

CHAP. V.

Diſturbances in Athens.—Deaths of Demoſthenes and Phocion.—Demetrius Phalereus.

Peloponneſian league againſt the Macedonians.

THOUGH Greece had been ſunk into a kind of lethargy during the conqueſts of Alexander, yet ſome efforts were made to recover the liberty of the Grecian ſtates. The Spartans ſtirred up a rebellion in Peloponneſus (330), but Antipater, who governed in Macedonia, extinguiſhed this league by gaining a remarkable battle, which put an end to all hopes of the allies being able to ſhake off the yoke.

Harpalus attempts to corrupt the Athenians.

Some years after, Harpalus, governour of Babylon, being afraid that Alexander, at his return from India, would puniſh him for his iniquitous extortions, croſſed the ſea with five thouſand talents, and took ſhelter in Athens, where he employed his money to bribe the orators, whoſe venal ſouls were no longer influenced by any thing but intereſt; yet he found Phocion incorruptible; that great man, who, living with his wife in the boſom of poverty, did the common domeſtic offices in his own houſe, had already refuſed to accept a hundred talents,

Phocion incorruptible.

talents, which were offered to him by Alexander; and when the ambaſſadours ſaid to him, *He loves you as the only deſerving man in the ſtate—Let him then allow me to be ſo, and to appear ſuch*, replied Phocion: far richer, in the eyes of the judicious Plutarch, by having ſufficient ſtrength of mind to refuſe ſuch a ſum, than the prince who made him the offer.

Demoſthenes bribed.

Demoſthenes, whoſe weak, mercenary ſoul diſgraced his abilities, could not withſtand the offers of Harpalus; his prevarication provoked the people, and being condemned by the Areopagus, he was put in priſon for the payment of a fine which they impoſed; but he made his eſcape, and ſhewed a moſt contemptible puſillanimity during the time he remained in exile. When Alexander was coming in perſon to chaſtiſe the Athenians, they then thought proper to drive Harpalus out of their country.

Before J. C. 323. Silly conduct of the Athenians after the death of Alexander.

Notwithſtanding their humiliation, the Athenians ſtill retained that reſtleſs, petulant ſpirit, which had brought upon them ſuch variety of misfortunes. They ſtill ſought to be free, without having either the courage or virtue which liberty requires. The leaſt fit of paſſion was ſufficient to make them inſtantly take up arms; and the ſlighteſt misfortune, to overwhelm them with fear; their indiſcretion was enough to have completed their ruin. On the firſt report of Alexander's death, the Athenians immediately gave vent to their joy; and, imagining that they were delivered from the Macedonian yoke, nothing was to be heard but war and vengeance. The declaimers every where lighted up the flame, and the prudent Phocion fruitleſsly attempted to check the violence of the conflagration; it was in vain for him to tell them, *If Alexander is this day dead, he will be ſo tomorrow, and likewiſe next day; we have time for prudent deliberation.* They would not hearken to him, but ſent deputies to perſuade all the ſtates of Greece to form a league againſt the Macedonians. Demoſthenes, though ſtill an exile, took the field, and ſtirred up Peloponneſus to revolt; upon which he was glorioufly recalled from

Phocion could not diſſuade them from war.

his baniſhment, loaded with honours, and the ſtandard of war was immediately ſet up.

Antipater reduces them.

Macedonia was ſo exhauſted by the new levies that were ſent to join Alexander, that Antipater had no more than about thirteen thouſand fighting men; however, he advanced to attack the Greeks, but being defeated, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the city of Lamia* in Theſſaly, till the generals who were in Aſia could come to his relief. The firſt who came to his aſſiſtance was Leonatus, who was killed in an engagement where Leoſthenes the Athenian general gained the victory. The people now began to rally Phocion, aſking him if he would not have wiſhed to have performed ſuch noble deeds? *Yes*, replied he, *and to have adviſed the contrary.* He readily foreſaw the conſequence of their arrogant confidence, and aſked, *When will there be an end of our conqueſts?* In effect, this return of good fortune only ſerved to make them more remiſs in their diſcipline; and Antipater being joined by Craterus, the allies, diſheartened by the firſt misfortune, abandoned the Athenians, that they might procure better terms for themſelves; ſo that Athens was very ſoon obliged to ſubmit; when Antipater aboliſhed democracy, and reſtored the ariſtocratical government, putting a garriſon in the port of Munychia, and obliging them to pay the whole expenſes of the war.

Death of Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes, whom they had agreed to deliver up, fled, from a dread of falling into the hands of Antipater, and ſwallowed poiſon. This famous orator overcame ſome very great natural obſtacles, and attained the higheſt degree of eloquence, with which he for a long time governed his country. But can the fatal enthuſiaſm which he kindled by it, be put in compariſon with the prudent policy of Phocion? When Rollin aſcribes to him, *a wonderful ſagacity, which pointed out to him future and diſtant events as if they had been preſent*; would it not be ſaid, that the deſtruction of Philip and Alexander had verified his predictions? The Athenians erected

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* From thence this was called the *Lamian war*.

a ſtatue to him, with the following inſcription: *Demoſthenes, if thou hadſt had power equal to thy judgment, the Macedonian Mars would never have ruled in Greece.* But the following would have been more proper: *If thy judgment had been equal to thy genius and eloquence.*

Raſhneſs fatal to the Greeks.

A precipitate raſhneſs was the ruin of that republic. It was an egregious folly to draw upon themſelves Alexander's generals, while they were ſtill in perfect union, and accuſtomed to ſucceſs: if the Athenians had waited till diſſenſions had ſprung up among them, an opportunity might have offered of fighting to advantage, when the confederate ſtates of Greece, united againſt enemies that were tearing one another in pieces, might have regained their freedom and independence. But when the moment arrived, in which they ought to have made the attempt, they found themſelves deſtitute of all power.

Diſſenſions among Alexander's officers.

The empire of Alexander became an immenſe theatre of war and different revolutions. His natural brother Arideus was acknowledged his ſucceſſor, in conjunction with a ſon whom he had by his wife Roxana. Arideus was not capable of ſupporting the dignity of the crown; and ambition could not reſpect the rights of an infant. Perdiccas, to whom the regency and the royal ſignet were intruſted, excited the jealouſy of the reſt of the officers who formerly were his equals; and all engaged in ſchemes of aggrandizing themſelves. Every one was deſirous to become abſolute in his own government, and to erect it into a ſeparate ſtate. Antigonus, governour of Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, more ambitious than the reſt, was the firſt who attempted to diſturb Perdiccas; for which purpoſe he engaged Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy governour of Egypt, to join him. War being kindled, Perdiccas was aſſaſſinated in Egypt by his own officers. Ptolemy politically declined to accept of the regency, which might have expoſed him to envy, without adding to his power; it therefore fell to Antipater, whoſe death occaſioned freſh diſturbances.

Perdiccas regent, & after him Antipater

Caſſander,

Polyſperchon, the new regent, attempts to gain the Greeks.

Caſſander, general of the horſe, and ſon of Antipater, provoked at Polyſperchon's being preferred to him by his dying father, who had only aſſociated him in the regency with that old officer, wanted to ſeize upon an authority by force, which he unjuſtly looked upon as his rightful patrimony, and therefore formed an aſſociation with Ptolemy, Antigonus and Seleucus. Polyſperchon hoped to attach the Grecians to his intereſt, by recalling the exiles from baniſhment, reſtoring the ancient government to the different cities, and re-eſtabliſhing democracy in Athens. This decree revived the diſturbances of that city; and the Athenians became guilty of a moſt enormous act of injuſtice.

Phocion unjuſtly accuſed.

Whatever could render a character valuable and reſpectable, ought to have made Phocion dear to the people of Athens; his old age, his virtues, the glory which he had acquired, and the ſervices he had done the ſtate: but he was a favourer of ariſtocracy, which alone could check popular madneſs; and that was ſufficient cauſe for the declaimers to rail againſt him, and to alledge that he was guilty of ſome offences againſt his country. The command of the army was taken from him upon ſuſpicion; he was next accuſed of treaſon,

His death.

and condemned in a riotous aſſembly. Being aſked, according to cuſtom, what puniſhment he thought he deſerved, he aſked for death, upon condition that the reſt who were accuſed and ſuſpected, yet innocent as he was, ſhould be ſpared; but the whole were condemned to drink the hemlock. The only order which Phocion gave to his ſon, before he ſwallowed the poiſon, was to forget the injuſtice done to him by the Athenians. Such was the end of this great hero and eminent philoſopher, who in the higheſt degree had united politics, and a knowledge of the art of war, to perſonal bravery and virtue; who had ſerved his country till he was above eighty years of age, in her armies and in her councils, equalling Socrates in wiſdom, while he excelled him by the importance of the offices which he held for the good of the public.

Since

Since the principal merit of hiſtory is to preſent models for imitation, we ſhall mention a couple of inſtances of his ſingular probity. His ſon in law Charicles having been ſummoned to anſwer an accuſation againſt him for receiving money from Harpalus, he refuſed to plead in his favour, ſaying, *I made you my ſon in law, but it was for worthy actions.* Antipater, who loved and reſpected him, having made a propoſal to him one day which was not very juſt, he boldly replied, *Antipater cannot find in me a friend and a flatterer.* The Athenians erected a ſtatue to Phocion. That ſort of memorials inceſſantly upbraided them with the remembrance of the inſults which they had offered to virtue, yet never produced the leaſt amendment.

Inſtances of the probity of Phocion.

While they were engaged in inteſtine diſſenſions, without once looking forward, or attempting to arrange the affairs of the public, Caſſander ſeized the Piræus, and preſcribed the terms upon which he granted them a peace. He placed a garriſon in the citadel, and reſtored ariſtocracy, obliging them to elect one of their own citizens to preſide in the new government. They choſe Demetrius Phalereus, a diſciple of Theophraſtus, a man of genius improved by learning, whoſe underſtanding and probity equally contributed to the good of the public. He governed them ten years with juſtice and moderation, inſinuating himſelf into the favour of the people, yet without condeſcending to flatter them, and correcting abuſes without their being exaſperated. The revenue was increaſed, and the city ornamented with convenient buildings; for Demetrius, diſapproving of the oſtentatious expenſes of Pericles, ſought only what was truly uſeful, and to reſtrain every kind of luxury, which contributed to cheriſh vanity and effeminacy.

Before J. C. 317. Caſſander gives law to Athens.

Prudent government of Demetrius Phalereus.

His attention was principally directed to watch the morals of the people, as upon them depends the happineſs of ſociety. His deſire was, that of all things the minds of youth ſhould be formed to virtue, in preference of every other kind of merit; that they ſhould reverence their parents when at home, and reſpect themſelves

His attention to reform the morals of the people

ſelves when alone. Reſtrained by paternal authority, ruled by ſentiments of honour, which forbid their doing in ſecret what could make them bluſh in public, they muſt have become worthy of their anceſtors, if laws could in a ſhort time extirpate the vices of a corrupt people.

Before J. C. 306. Demetrius Poliorcetes reſtores democracy in Athens.

But Demetrius Poliorcetes, ſon of Antigonus, coming in a few years after to Athens, and declaring that he was ſent by his father to deliver the Athenians, and reſtore democratical government, the whole face of affairs was very ſoon changed. He was received with every demonſtration of joy, the people laviſhing upon him every kind of flattery, even ſo far as to call him *a preſerving god*. Demetrius Phalereus became the object of their hatred, as much as if he had been a traitor or tyrant. They imputed to him as a crime, the having allowed a Macedonian garriſon to keep poſſeſſion of the citadel for ten years; which was a charge they had likewiſe brought againſt Phocion; but both the one and the other were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperiour power, while at the ſame time they were perſuaded that it ſerved as a check to the turbulent ſpirit of the people. Hiſtorians ſay, that three hundred and ſixty ſtatues had been erected to Demetrius, but they were all thrown down upon this occaſion.

Demetrius Phalereus ill uſed.

His retreat

He retired from Athens under the protection of Poliorcetes, and being told of the inſult which was offered to his ſtatues, he ſaid, *They cannot however deſtroy thoſe merits which procured me the honour of having them erected.* Being condemned to ſuffer death for contumacy, he retired to Egypt, where he acquired the friendſhip of Ptolemy, and by his learned labours on moral and political ſubjects, acquired new honours, which helped to conſole him for the diſgraces that were offered to him in Athens.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Wars among Alexander's Officers.—Diviſion of his Empire.—Irruption of the Gauls.

Wars among Alexander's officers.

THE quarrels and wars which were entered into by the officers and ſucceſſors of Alexander, preſent us with nothing but a long ſeries of intrigues, battles and murders, ſuch as are always to be met with in the hiſtory of every country; and therefore it is unneceſſary to do more than take a curſory view of the principal incidents. Olympias, the mother of Alexander, who had retired to Epirus, was recalled by Polyſperchon, in hopes that ſhe would ſupport his cauſe. This mercileſs princeſs, offended at being divorced from Philip, revenged the affront, by murdering king Arideus, his wife, and a number of the Macedonians; but Caſſander, flying to their aſſiſtance, took her priſoner, and cauſed her to be aſſaſſinated. Eumenes, governour of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, who remained a ſteady adherent to the royal family, being delivered up to Antigonus by traitors, was put to death in priſon. The young king Alexander, ſon of the conqueror, Roxana his mother, and his brother Hercules, were aſſaſſinated. Thus the conqueſts of that moſt celebrated hero were terminated by the murder of his whole family, and the uſurpation of his empire.

His whole family exterminated by murder.

Before J. C. 301. Battle of Ipſus.

The fate of the different competitors was decided by the battle of Ipſus in Phrygia, in which Antigonus was killed; Demetrius fled with the remains of his army, and the empire was divided among the conquerors. Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Paleſtine and Cœle Syria fell to Ptolemy; Macedonia and Greece, to Caſſander; Thrace, Bithynia, and ſome other provinces, to Lyſimachus; and Seleucus had the reſt of Aſia, as far as the river Indus. This laſt kingdom, the moſt powerful of the four, is called the kingdom of Syria, becauſe the city of Antioch, which was built in Syria by Seleucus, became the reſidence of his deſcendants.

Diviſion of the empire between Ptolemy, Caſſander, Lyſimachus and Seleucus.

Demetrius

Behaviour of the Athenians to Poliorcetes.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, an imprudent warrior, having been deprived of all his poſſeſſions, after the defeat of his father Antigonus, flattered himſelf with the hope of finding ſome reſource in Athenian gratitude; but they ſhut their gates againſt that *preſerving god*, whom they formerly adored: yet, when his affairs began to recover, Athens was obliged to receive him, though it had been prohibited under pain of death even to offer propoſals of peace. The moderation with which he treated this treacherous people, deſerves much higher praiſe than all his actions in war.

He uſurps the crown of Macedonia, and is afterwards dethroned.

Caſſander died, after having reigned ſome time in Macedonia, where Polyſpherchon could not withſtand him, and his two ſons contended for the ſucceſſion; one of them called Demetrius to his aſſiſtance, who ſlew him, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king; but, being dethroned by Pyrrhus and Lyſimachus, he died of vexation and debauchery.*

Famous ſiege of Rhodes.

He ſignalized himſelf chiefly at the famous ſiege of Rhodes, which laſted a year, and at laſt terminated by a treaty of peace. It is ſaid, that the Rhodians received three hundred talents for the warlike inſtruments which were given to them by Demetrius, and that the money was employed in erecting the famous coloſſus of the ſun, which was one hundred and fifty feet high, and thrown down about ſixty ſix years after by an earthquake.

Protogenes the painter.

Protogenes the painter lived in the ſuburbs of Rhodes, and continued his profeſſion during the ſiege, without ſhewing any diſquiet. Upon Demetrius appearing ſurpriſed at his boldneſs—*I knew*, ſaid he, *that you had declared war againſt the Rhodians, but not againſt the arts.* Demetrius was ſo pleaſed with this reply, that he immediately became his protector.

Ptolemy makes Egypt flouriſh.

Amidſt the crimes of ambition, and the horrours of war, it is an affecting ſpectacle to behold the fine arts, learning,

* After having been driven by Agathocles, ſon of Lyſimachus, out of Caria and Lycia, he fled for protection into the territories of his ſon in law Seleucus, which being refuſed, he for ſome time carried on a war with that prince; but at laſt being deſerted by his troops, and finding it impoſſible to eſcape, he ſurrendered priſoner, and was kept by Seleucus in Cherſoneſus, where he died three years after. *Vid Plutarch. vit. Demet.*

learning, and ſcience, exerciſing their gentle ſway, and ſoftening the hearts even of thoſe in whoſe preſence mankind trembled. At this time Ptolemy Soter, the moſt valuable of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander, encouraged men of abilities, and eſtabliſhed the empire of reaſon in Egypt. It was to him that Alexandria owed the *Muſeum*, a kind of learned academy, which every day became more and more famous. He likewiſe founded, in the ſame place, the celebrated library, that immenſe treaſure of learning, in which a hundred thouſand volumes were left by his ſucceſſor; and where at laſt there were reckoned no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand. The Egyptians, thus improved by Greece, which they had formerly delivered from barbariſm, at laſt acquired a taſte for what was really excellent, and a knowledge vaſtly ſuperiour to that of which they had been ſo proud for a number of ages. The ſingle tower of Pharos, which was built for the ſafety of mariners, deſerves more to be admired than thoſe enormous, uſeleſs maſſes, the pyramids: Ptolemy reſigned his crown, two years before his death, to his ſon Ptolemy Philadelphus, who followed the ſteps of his father, and greatly promoted the progreſs of learning and commerce; but the beginning of his reign was ſtained with an act of horrid injuſtice, by putting Demetrius Phalereus to death for having attempted to diſſuade his father from relinquiſhing the crown.

The academy and library of Alexandria.

The tower of Pharos.

The tragical deaths of Lyſimachus and Seleucus complete the horrours of our ſtory. The firſt, miſled by his ſecond wife, Arſinoë, a cruel ſtepmother, put to death his ſon Agathocles, her brother in law; by which having made himſelf deteſted by his principal officers, they forſook him, and, joining Seleucus, perſuaded him to take up arms againſt their former maſter, who was ſoon after killed in the field. Seleucus ſeized his poſſeſſions, and was himſelf aſſaſſinated by Ceraunus, the brother of the king of Egypt, an ungrateful wretch, whom he had loaded with kindneſſes. Seleucus, ſurnamed Nicator, becauſe of his victories, has been highly praiſed

Tragical death of Lyſimachus and Seleucus.

praiſed as an encourager of learning. He reſtored the library to the Athenians, of which they had been robbed by Xerxes.

Ceraunus uſurps their thrones.

The treacherous Ceraunus, that he might ſecure to himſelf the throne of Lyſimachus, married Arſinoë; and then, murdering her children while in her arms, confined her in Samothrace. He fell by the hands of the Gauls, who very ſoon overran all Greece. Antigonus Gonatas, the ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, became king of Macedonia. Almoſt all theſe revolutions were occaſioned by moſt atrocious crimes: though the guilty ſometimes eſcaped puniſhment, yet their memories muſt be equally deteſted. Theſe then were the worthy fruits of Alexander's conqueſts!

Antigonus Gonatas.

Before J. C. 278. Irruption of the Gauls.

In that feeble ſtate to which Greece had fallen, it was naturally to be expected that it muſt ſink under a deluge of Gauls, who ſuddenly came pouring in upon it with unbounded fury. That valiant, barbarous people, hurried on by a reſtleſs diſpoſition which was natural to them, or by ſome unknown cauſe, ſought at a diſtance from home to find new ſettlements. Brennus, one of their chiefs, more than a century before, had carried terrour to the very gates of Rome. Another Brennus penetrated into Greece, and, paſſing Thermopylæ, marched towards Delphos with an intention to pillage the famous temple of Apollo. *It is but juſt*, ſaid he, *that the gods ſhould give a part of their riches to men, who have more need of them, and can employ them to better purpoſe.*

Brennus wants to pillage the temple of Delphos.

Though the Greeks had made ſome efforts to oppoſe him, they were diſperſed very ſoon by a ſingle misfortune; but, however, Heaven ſeemed to fight for the preſervation of the temple, and that fortunate incident ſaved them. A violent ſtorm, accompanied with an earthquake, ſo terrified the Gauls, that, being ſeized with a panic, they ſlew one another in the darkneſs of the night. The Greeks, being aſſembled to protect the temple, ſeized the opportunity to fall upon the enemy, and, having attacked them, cut them entirely in pieces.

The defeat of the Gauls imputed to a miracle.

Brennus,

Brennus, being wounded, in deſpair ſtabbed himſelf with his own poinard. If we may give credit to ſome hiſtorians, there was not a man of one hundred and ſixty five thouſand eſcaped. The intereſt of the prieſts, and a paſſion for the marvellous, muſt have evidently changed and greatly magnified matters; and M. Rollin ſhews more piety than judgment, when he intimates that divine vengeance might be manifeſted in a miraculous manner, on ſuch an occaſion. Shall the true God then make uſe of miracles, to chaſtiſe Brennus for contemning the gods of Paganiſm?

Another army of Gauls, having croſſed the Helleſpont, entered into the ſervice of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who, in return, gave them that country which has ſince been called Galatia, or Gallo Græcia, in Aſia Minor. The Gauls ſettled in Aſia.

CHAP. VII.

The Achæan League.—Aratus.—Agis.—Cleomenes.—The Greeks ſubdued by the Romans.

THE Achæan league, and the attempts of Agis and Cleomenes to reſtore the ancient manners of Sparta, preſent to our view an object highly deſerving our attention, before that time when Greece was ſubjected to Rome.

When Achaia, following the example of the other Grecian ſtates, ſhook off the yoke of royalty, her cities entered into a confederacy which was exceedingly well calculated for their intereſt, as all motives of jealouſy and diſcord were baniſhed by a perfect equality. Their public affairs were regulated by a common Senate, in which two pretors, who were elected annually, preſided, and likewiſe commanded their army; with the aſſiſtance of a council, conſiſting of ten members, without whoſe concurrence nothing of conſequence could be attempted. Juſtice was the very ſoul of this league, which, being formed ſolely for the ſafety of the people, could not be diſturbed The ancient league of Achaia broken by the Macedonian kings.

disturbed by the attempts of ambition. Under the kings of Macedonia, who were the successors of Alexander, the Achæans, as well as the greatest part of their neighbours, lost their liberty. Every city had its particular tyrant, or a foreign garrison; and the league, which till that time consisted only of twelve obscure cities of Peloponnesus, was entirely broken.

Before J. C. 280. However, the love of liberty once more revived. Some of the cities drove out the tyrants, and renewed their former alliance: the republic resumed its original form, and very soon increased by the association of several states who partook of the advantages of the league; when a virtuous and able chief raised them both to fame and power. Aratus, a noble spirited young man, who was animated with a truly patriotic zeal, having freed his country, Sicyon, which was enslaved by the tyrant Nicocles, and dreading lest it should become a prey to factions, joined it to the Achæan league. He shewed himself worthy of commanding, and was elected pretor, which was a dignity no longer divided between two: though the election was annual, the power continued in his hands.

Aratus revives the league.

His character. Though Aratus was of a lively, brave and elevated genius, celebrated for performing bold enterprises, which required rapid execution; yet he had the misfortune to be slow and timid at the head of an army, when he could deliberate coolly upon the danger and difficulties of an undertaking. According to Polybius, qualities totally opposite were to be found united in him, being no longer the same man in different circumstances.

Before J. C. 244. He wishes to drive the Macedonians out of the citadel of Corinth. His detestation of tyranny made him undertake to free Peloponnesus, and to make the Achæan league an insurmountable barrier against all invasions. The king of Macedonia being in possession of the citadel of Corinth, which was a terrour to all the states of Greece, Aratus formed a daring scheme, to drive out the garrison. A person undertook to lead him by a by path to the walls of the place, and if the scheme succeeded, was to have a reward of sixty talents; but it was necessary

His heroic generosity

that

that the money ſhould be previouſly depoſited. Aratus had not ſo much, but to make up the ſum, he pledged his plate, his wife's jewels, and all his valuable effects. He purchaſed, ſays Plutarch, the greateſt danger at the expenſe of his whole fortune, without diſcovering his ſecret to any one, or having any ſecurity but the hope of rendering an important ſervice to his country; a generoſity ſurpaſſing all heroic actions. An infinite number of obſtacles concurred to oppoſe him; the citadel was ſituated upon a ſteep rock which ſeemed inacceſſible, yet Aratus made his way into the place, and drove out the garriſon. The Corinthians reſpected him as their deliverer, and ſtrengthened the league by joining the Achæans.

He ſucceeded in his undertaking.

He did not ſucceed ſo well in his attempts in favour of Argos. Ariſtippus, a cruel, ſuſpicious tyrant, always ſurrounded with his guards, yet always in fear, kept them in ſlavery. This monſter let looſe ſeveral aſſaſſins againſt Aratus; but the love of the people made them ſo watchful for his preſervation, that his attempts were fruitleſs. The pretor attacked Ariſtippus, but loſt the firſt battle; and though the tyrant fell in a ſecond engagement, Argos remained under the yoke of another.

Argos does not join in the league.

Lyſiades, who governed Megalopolis, had nothing tyrannical in his diſpoſition, but willingly reſigned his power at the perſuaſion of Aratus, and adviſed his people to join the league. They were protected by the king of Egypt againſt the Macedonians.

The tyrant of Megalopolis voluntarily depoſed himſelf.

The affairs of Peloponneſus were greatly changed by a revolution which took place in Sparta. By loſing their manners, that republic loſt all their glory and power. Lyſander, by introducing gold, had opened a way for every kind of corruption which could not fail to prove fatal; and Epilades, one of the Ephori, completed all, by obtaining a decree entitling every one to diſpoſe of his own property. This Epilades, while he ſought to diſinherit his ſon with whom he was diſſatisfied, in fact ruined his country. The diviſion of lands no longer ſubſiſting, the rich very ſoon got poſſeſſion of the

Sparta corrupted by avarice

the inheritance of the poor, and the wretchedneſs of the people daily increaſed: mechanical employments having become neceſſary to procure a livelihood, all the ancient exerciſes were abandoned; and avarice defaced every principle of honour and honeſty. Debts and proſecutions ruined moſt of the citizens. Sparta reckoned only ſeven hundred, of whom ſix hundred had no poſſeſſions in land.

Agis undertakes to reſtore the laws of Lycurgus.

The young king Agis, deſcended from the famous Ageſilaus, though bred in effeminacy, conceived a deſign for correcting theſe evils. An enthuſiaſtic love of virtue made him blind to every obſtacle; and, in hopes of being able to reſtore the laws of Lycurgus, he began by practiſing them himſelf: but the ruſtic manners which ſubſiſted in the time of the lawgiver were better calculated for bending the minds of the people to a rigid legiſlation, than manners when once tainted by vicious refinements. Circumſtances required a different plan of reformation; and it is probable that Lycurgus, in the preſent ſituation of things, would have failed.

Impoſſibility of a reformation.

The youth, ardent in their purſuits, whether after good or evil, yielded to the impreſſions made upon them by the young king, whoſe heroic ſentiments had gained their hearts; but thoſe who had been debauched by long practice ſhuddered at the very name of Lycurgus, as Plutarch expreſſes it, *like fugitive ſlaves going to be led back to their maſters.*

They annihilated all debts, but the partition of the lands was not made.

In the mean time Agis, having gained his mother and ſeveral of the leading citizens, propoſed to renew the partition of the lands; but was oppoſed by his colleague Leonidas, who was induced to it by the entreaties of the women, and by his own intereſt. One of the Ephori accuſed Leonidas of having violated the laws, and as he did not dare to make his appearance, they gave his crown to his ſon in law Cleombrotus, who concurred with Agis in his plan of improvement. Every difficulty ſeemed to vaniſh, and all the poor heartily wiſhed for the reformation to take place; but Ageſilaus, one of the Ephori, a man who was deeply involved in

debt,

debt, deceived both the kings, by perſuading them to annul the debts before they divided the lands. All the deeds were ſeized, and burnt in public. Ageſilaus, ſmiling, ſaid, *that he had never ſeen ſo fine a fire.* But when the diviſion of the lands was propoſed, he found pretences for a delay.

During theſe tranſactions, the Achæans, who were allies of Sparta, applied for aſſiſtance againſt the Etolians, a fierce banditti, who threatened to lay waſte the country of Peloponneſus, from which they were not far diſtant. Agis commanded the troops, and was admired for reſtoring the ancient diſcipline of his country. But at his return he found a woful change in the face of affairs: Cleombrotus being dethroned, and Leonidas reſtored by the power of faction, he was himſelf obliged to ſeek an aſylum in the temple. Some treacherous friends, getting poſſeſſion of his perſon, dragged him to priſon. Being interrogated by the Ephori, whether he did not repent of having attempted to introduce innovations in the ſtate, he replied, that even if he was ſurrounded with the apparatus of death, he would not repent of ſo worthy an action. On this anſwer, without regard to royalty, which had hitherto been always highly reſpected in Sparta, they ſentenced that virtuous prince to be put to death. One of his executioners melting into tears; *Ceaſe to bewail me*, ſaid the king; *though I ſuffer an unjuſt death, I am much happier than my murderers.* His mother and grandmother having come to ſee him in priſon, the cruel monſters made them enter, and ſtrangled them both upon the body of Agis. Sparta, polluted with ſuch barbarities, is a moſt dreadful example of revolutions in the moral world brought about by vice and the contempt of laws.

Every thing changed in the abſence of Agis.

He is condemned to death and executed.

Leonidas ſurvived this cataſtrophe but a very ſhort time. His ſon Cleomenes, whom he had compelled to marry the widow of Agis, was of a lively, bold, ambitious character, and capable of attempting the greateſt enterpriſes. He loved his wife; and the converſation of that princeſs excited in him a deſire of bringing

Before J. C. 242. Cleomenes deſirous to follow the ſchemes of Agis.

about the reformation. Whether it proceeded from virtue or ambition, as his proceedings hitherto did not beſpeak him a man of virtue, he zealouſly embraced the ſcheme, and made it the foundation of his politics. It was with reaſon that war ſeemed to him a neceſſary help for carrying his projects into execution, for as the minds of the people were not diſpoſed to hearken to reaſon, it was needful to employ force. Some hoſtilities of the Achæans, who wanted Sparta and Arcadia to join in the league, afforded him a pretence for attacking them, and with an army of five thouſand men only he offered them battle; but though Aratus had twenty thouſand, he declined coming to an engagement. Cleomenes, exulting on this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, repeated an old expreſſion of one of the kings of Sparta: *The Spartans do not inquire the number of the enemy, but where they are to be found.*

He makes war againſt the Achæans.

A victory which he gained over the Achæans having redoubled his confidence, at his return to Sparta he recalled Archidamus the brother of Agis, who had fled from his country upon the death of that king. According to Plutarch, Cleomenes wanted to place him upon the throne, but he was aſſaſſinated by the murderers of his brother. Polybius, who was almoſt a cotemporary, on the contrary, aſcribes the aſſaſſination of Archidamus to Cleomenes, and relates the particular circumſtances: however, it is univerſally agreed that this king employed the ſame means to get rid of the whole body of the Ephori. A very extraordinary method of reſtoring the laws of Lycurgus! The Ephori made an abominable uſe of power, by keeping their princes in dread of them; but ought not a violent deed of deſpotiſm, which was employed to aboliſh them, make the people tremble? After this maſſacre, fourſcore citizens were baniſhed, which made it an eaſy matter to ſecure the remaining ſuffrages.

Violence of Cleomenes.

Cleomenes was the firſt who gave up his property to the public, and his friends followed his example; the lands were then divided as they had been formerly; the exerciſes,

Diviſion of the lands.

exercises, and eating in common, were also restored. He took his brother Euclidas for his colleague, which was a political stroke to render himself master of the state, as the two kings till that time had always been chosen from the two branches of the Heraclidæ. I do not find that Cleomenes followed the example of Lycurgus, in banishing gold and silver out of the state. If the restoration of the ancient manners was the only purpose he had in view, he certainly ought to have extirpated that seed of corruption. I own that the example of the prince might inspire the people with a love of frugality, simplicity of manners, and patience; but is it not at the same time to be dreaded, that the whole might be defeated by a contrary example, unless it were rendered impossible by the total proscription of riches?

Ancient customs restored.

The king of Sparta had it principally in view to resume that superiority which the republic had possessed for several ages, and therefore required of the Achæans that he might be appointed to command; but Aratus did not approve of having him for a master, and with great reason; because it was more than probable that he would play the tyrant: however, as the pretor found that he could not resist the Spartan power, he had recourse to the king of Macedonia, to whom he had hitherto shewn himself the greatest enemy. By this single step, according to Plutarch, he tarnished that glory which he had acquired by thirty years prudent conduct, as the Spartan yoke should have been thought more tolerable for the Greeks than the Macedonian: yet this same writer allows that Aratus yielded to the temper of the times, *which commands those who seem to command.* In fact, such was their hatred against the Spartans, that the league was ready to be dissolved if any other measures had been taken. Polybius is of the same opinion, and his testimony is not to be doubted. At the time that Antigonus Doson was called into Peloponnesus, Cleomenes had already seized Corinth; the citadel was therefore

Cleomenes wants to govern the Achæans.

Aratus calls the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

therefore given in pledge to Antigonus, and a more valuable ſecurity could not have been offered.

Before J. C. 223. Cleomenes defeated at Selaſia.

However formidable was this new enemy, Cleomenes ſeized Megalopolis almoſt before his face, and inſulted him at the walls of Argos; but being obliged to defend Lacedemonia, and falling ſhort both of money and proviſions, he was reſolved to venture upon a deciſive action. The famous battle of Selaſia, where he was defeated by Antigonus, deſtroyed all his hopes and projects.

Bold action of Philopæmen.

Philopæmen of Megalopolis, at that time a very young man, contributed very much to the ſucceſs of the day, by attacking a body of Spartans, contrary to the opinion of his ſuperiour officers, and even againſt the orders of the king. Antigonus pretended to find fault with the commanding officer, and he laid the blame upon Philopæmen. *That young man*, ſaid the king, *has behaved like a great general, by ſeizing the proper moment; while you have acted like a young man.* To ſeize an opportunity of gaining an advantage of the enemy, is to obey the general, provided ſucceſs juſtifies what may at firſt ſight ſeem to be a breach of orders.

Cleomenes retires to Egypt in hopes of better days to ſerve his country.

Cleomenes returned to Sparta after his defeat, and adviſed the citizens to receive Antigonus, whom, in fact, they could not reſiſt; but being unwilling himſelf to ſubmit to the dictates of the conqueror, he embarked for Egypt, where he hoped for protection from Ptolemy Euergetes. One of his friends adviſed him to put an end to his diſgrace by a voluntary death: to whom he anſwered, *That it was cowardly to die from a dread of falſe ſhame, or the deſire of falſe honour; that death ſhould be an action, and not the conſequence of paſt actions; that he thought it was his duty to preſerve his life for the good of his country; and that it would be an eaſy matter to die when all hope was over.* Euergetes, greatly affected with ſuch noble ſentiments, would have aſſiſted him, if he had not been prevented by death.

He invites the Egyptians to rebel.

Under Ptolemy Philopater, his ſucceſſor, Cleomenes, miſtruſted by a voluptuous court, very ſoon ſaw himſelf without farther reſource, and even a priſoner at large; he

he therefore, with thirteen faithful friends who ſtill adhered to him, entered into a reſolution to conclude all by a deſperate attempt. Having eſcaped from his guards, he ran into the ſtreets of Alexandria, inviting the Egyptians to rebel; but no creature attempting to ſtir, the Spartans killed one another, that they might eſcape puniſhment. The body of Cleomenes was affixed to a croſs, and his mother and children were maſſacred. Livy calls him the firſt tyrant of Sparta, and perhaps he deſerves that appellation rather than that of reformer. His death

After the battle of Selaſia, Sparta fell into the hands of Antigonus, who behaved to its inhabitants in a manner which procured him more honour than he had gained by his victory; for he left them at liberty to govern by their own laws, without having uſed againſt them a ſingle act of ſeverity. The Ephori were reſtored. The changes which were made by Cleomenes could not continue, as the manners of the people remained ſtill corrupted. That republic, which had formerly been a barrier for the ſecurity of the liberties of Greece, from this time forward had its particular tyrant, and was no longer heard of in the hiſtory of celebrated nations. The race of the Heraclidæ became extinct at the death of Ageſipolis, the ſucceſſor of Cleomenes. Sparta ſinks into oblivion.

Before J. C. 215. Philip king of Macedon poiſons Aratus.

The Achæan league, on the contrary, was preſerved by the prudent management of Aratus, who enjoyed the entire confidence of Antigonus, and likewiſe that of his ſucceſſor Philip, the ally of Hannibal, in the beginning of his reign; but Philip being ſoon corrupted by the flatterers that were round him, the honeſt ſincerity of Aratus could no longer be endured, and therefore he cauſed him to be poiſoned. *This is the friendſhip of kings*, ſaid Aratus, when he began to feel the effect of the poiſon. The Achæans took up arms againſt Philip, and Philopæmen added new luſtre to the republic, which continued to preſerve a love for liberty even after Rome began to bear rule in the country, as we ſhall ſee when we come to that part of our hiſtory. The taking of Philopæmen ſupports the league.

Corinth

Corinth by Mummius foretold the total wreck of that liberty which had produced ſo many patterns of heroiſm; and Greece ſoon after became a Roman province, known by the name of Achaia. From this period, all the different hiſtorians include the hiſtory of Greece in that of Rome.

Greece, reduced by the Romans, retains the empire of learning.

"Cruſhed under the weight of its domeſtic diſcords "and the Roman power," ſays the Abbé Mably, "Greece ſtill preſerved a very honourable ſuperiority "over her conquerors. Her knowledge, a taſte for "learning, philoſophy, and the arts, revenged her, if we "may uſe the expreſſion, for her overthrow, and in her "turn ſubjected the pride of the Romans. The con-"querors became the diſciples of the conquered, and "learnt a language which Homer, Pindar, Thucydides, "Xenophon, Demoſthenes, Plato, Euripides, &c. had "embelliſhed with all the graces of their elevated genius. "Orators, who had already captivated the citizens of "Rome, went among the Greeks to acquire that deli-"cate elegance of taſte, perhaps the moſt excellent of "all talents, the ſecrets of that art which gives new "powers to genius; in one word, they went to learn "that enchanting gift which can diſplay every thing to "advantage. In their ſchools of philoſophy, the moſt "diſtinguiſhed Romans ſhook off their prejudices, learnt "to reſpect the Greeks, and, in their return to their "own country, brought with them eſteem and grati-"tude. From theſe motives, Rome made her yoke "leſs burdenſome; and, dreading to abuſe the rights "of conqueſt, diſtinguiſhed Greece from all the other "conquered provinces, by particular marks of favour. "What an honour to letters, to be able to ſave that "country where they had been cheriſhed, from evils "which lawgivers, magiſtrates, and the greateſt military "geniuſes, could not protect her! Here the Greeks "were avenged for the contempt ſhewn them by igno-"rance; and they are certain of being reſpected where-"ever ſuch eſtimators of merit are to be found as were "the Romans." *Obſerv. ſur les Grecs.*

Theſe

These judicious reflections lead us to inquire into the arts, learning, philoſophy and ſciences of the Greeks. As we have not time to examine ſuch important matters to the foundation, let us endeavour to inveſtigate their firſt principles, ſo as to form a juſt idea of them: we ſhall find them infinitely more uſeful than all the recitals of wars, battles, intrigues and petty changes which may be extracted from the immenſity of human affairs, to form large libraries, in which little or nothing inſtructive is to be found; or than all thoſe catalogues of names and dates which have been heaped up for an oppreſſive burden to the memory, without conveying the leaſt information upon ſubjects of the greateſt importance to mankind. To know only words is to know nothing; to become acquainted with unimportant facts is little better than nothing; but to acquire a knowledge of what is intereſting to ſociety, is the proper ſtudy of a gentleman.

We ſhould ſtudy that which is intereſting to the human mind.

BOOK FIFTH.

Of the ARTS, LEARNING and SCIENCE of the GREEKS.

CHAP. I.

The ARTS *of* GREECE.

SECT. I.

AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, NAVIGATION.

Advantage of Agriculture.

AS the Greeks increaſed in knowledge, they quickly became ſenſible of the importance of agriculture, to which they had ſhewn great diſlike, before they became thoroughly acquainted with the benefits of ſociety. It is agriculture which peoples and ſupports kingdoms, and procures for them their moſt ſolid riches. It is upon agriculture that the happineſs of nations ſituated in a fertile ſoil depends. Plenty of natural productions procures other wealth, or prevents the people from being ſenſible of the want of it. Without the fruits of the earth, all other riches are but an uſeleſs burden, and we ſometimes ſee the fable of Midas by woful experience realized. It was for that reaſon the ſages of antiquity, particularly Xenophon, applied to the ſtudy of this ſubject, with which they ought to have been ſtill better acquainted; their leſſons being limited to the common practice of their own times. To be convinced of the reſources which are to be found in a well cultivated country, it is not neceſſary to rely on the evidence of Pliny, when he ſays that a ſingle grain of corn frequently yielded a hundred ears in Egypt and Bœotia. The higheſt produce which even Sicily afforded, according to Cicero, was but ten for one.

Price of proviſions

The ſoil of Attica being proper only for raiſing olives, which were carefully cultivated by the Athenians, they had

had recourſe to their colonies to ſupply that defect. Byzantium, according to Demoſthenes, ſupplied them annually with four hundred thouſand medimni of corn. The medimnus, which was reckoned about ſix meaſures, of twenty pounds each, was ſold for only five drachmæ; from whence it is evident that ſpecie was ſcarce, and that living was very cheap. An ox was ſold in the time of Solon for five drachmæ, and a hog in the time of Socrates for three; ſo very moderate was the price of the neceſſaries of life.

Medimnus about ſix pecks Engliſh.

However, from the time of the expedition of Xerxes into Peloponneſus, the Athenians devoted their attention to commerce. Navigation had opened different channels, but ſtill it was very limited. Xenophon, in his *Treatiſe upon the public revenue*, adviſes the Athenians to ſpare no pains in making commerce flouriſh; to favour all who were concerned in it, whether natives or foreigners; even to advance money upon proper ſecurity, and to provide them with the neceſſary ſhipping. He ſuppoſes, what ſhould be looked upon as a maxim in government, that the riches of individuals make the wealth of the ſtate: above all things he recommends the working of the mines in the country, becauſe materials which are found at home, and the induſtry which is neceſſary to make them fit for uſe, are the moſt valuable grounds of commerce.

Commerce of the Athenians.

I do not mention Corinth, nor the trading colonies, ſuch as Syracuſe: we know in general that they were opulent and corrupted. The moderns have greatly improved the theory of commerce. It is not to be doubted, that when it is regulated by proper principles, it muſt furniſh very conſiderable reſources to a ſtate; but how was it poſſible, that people could fancy riches to be the foundation of the happineſs of kingdoms? or that they could neglect morals, education and laws, leave the citizens to ſink into a fatal degeneracy, and confine their whole political views within the narrow circle of the finances? Hiſtory furniſhes us with a thouſand examples of nations being corrupted by riches, who never

Whether riches confer happineſs upon a nation.

ver were ſo near deſtruction as when they ſeemed to have the wealth of the whole world at their diſpoſal.

Commerce of Alexandria. Canal of communication with the Red Soa.

Alexandria became ſo flouriſhing by commerce under the Ptolemys, as to make Tyre and Carthage to be forgotten. A canal of communication between Coptus and the Red Sea, which was dug by Ptolemy Philadelphus, with inns for the convenience of merchants all along the banks, attracted the whole commerce of the ſouthern parts of Aſia. Egypt, cured of its ancient ſuperſtition, grew as fond of the ſea, as it had deteſted it formerly. The navy of Ptolemy Philadelphus is ſaid to have conſiſted of a hundred and twenty ſhips of an uncommon ſize, and four thouſand other veſſels.

Shipping and navigation.

From the time of the Perſian invaſion their ſhips were greatly improved. Their veſſels or large galleys had ſeveral banks of oars, and carried about two hundred men. I do not pretend to explain the conſtruction of theſe banks, which were placed obliquely, and ſometimes exceedingly multiplied for ſhow; I muſt be content with obſerving ſome facts relating to navigation. Alexander's fleet, ſailing down the Indus, arrived in ten months at Suſa, having been three months in the river, and ſeven on the Indian ſea, in their paſſage from Patala to Suſa, which was the firſt time any of the Grecians ſailed upon the ocean. The paſſage from the coaſt of Malabar to the Red Sea was afterwards made in forty days, as mentioned by Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 23. Alexander, and his ſucceſſors, believed that the Euxine ſea had a communication with the ocean. There is leſs room to be ſurpriſed at this ignorance, than at the hardy attempts of navigators, at a time when they had ſo many difficulties to encounter, and with ſuch ſlender aſſiſtance. The globe was unknown, and there were no guides to conduct them over the vaſt expanſe.

SECT. II.

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, PAINTING, MUSIC.

Architecture.

WHEN riches have introduced a taſte for luxury among

among an induſtrious people, a ſingle eminent genius is ſufficient to make the fine arts flouriſh. Pericles gave life to the whole, and the Athenians continued for a couple of ages to produce the moſt elegant maſter pieces. Architecture erected thoſe ſuperb monuments, whoſe delicate proportions enchant the eyes, while the enormous Egyptian maſſes can only ſerve to ſtrike with aſtoniſhment. The three orders of Grecian architecture, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, ſtill continue the invariable ſtandard of good taſte. The Tuſcan order is heavy; and the Compoſite, though more ornamented, is leſs perfect, than the Corinthian. The Gothic beauties are only ſo many ſplendid blemiſhes. To ſurpaſs, or even to equal, the works of the ancients, we muſt return to their noble ſimplicity. What amazing difficulties did they not overcome! Cranes were unknown even in the time of Thucydides.

The three Grecian orders the moſt perfect.

Splendid edifices are a ruinous expenſe, even for ſtates, if they are not executed with the ſtricteſt economy. Vitruvius mentions a law in Epheſus, which prevented great abuſes. The architect was obliged to fix the coſt, and pledge his whole property, before he undertook to erect any public building. If the expenſe did not exceed the agreement, he was rewarded; if it amounted to one quarter more, the public paid the ſurplus; but if it exceeded that ſum, the expenſe fell upon the architect.

Law in Epheſus reſpecting architects

Before the time of Pericles, ſculpture had produced nothing but clumſy, ſhapeleſs figures. The Grecian ſtatues, like thoſe of the Egyptians, had the arms hanging down, adhering cloſe to the body, with the legs and feet joined to one another, without geſture, attitude or elegance. This charming art was brought to perfection by Phidias of Athens, a man who to a great fund of knowledge joined an uncommon genius. A ſtatue which he had made to be placed upon a pillar, appeared hideous; while one, done by his competitor Alcamenes, ſeemed excellent: *Place them at the proper diſtance*, ſaid Phidias; and the experiment ſhewed the advantage he derived

Sculpture perfected by Phidias.

derived from a knowledge of perſpective. His ſtatue of Minerva, which was made of gold and ivory, twenty ſix cubits high, having expoſed him to be inſulted and abuſed by his ungrateful countrymen, he revenged himſelf, by making one of Jupiter Olympius at Elis, the idea of which he took from the Iliad of Homer.

Other celebrated ſculptors.

Myron of Athens, Polyctetes and Lyſippus of Sicyonia, Praxiteles and Scopas of Paros, were likewiſe celebrated ſculptors.

Lyſippus.

Lyſippus was believed to have executed more than ſix hundred ſtatues: he was the only perſon whom Alexander would allow to make a ſtatue of him, as Apelles was his only painter.

Praxiteles

The two ſtatues of Venus, by Praxiteles, were much admired. Having given the people of Cos their choice of them at the ſame price, they preferred the leaſt handſome, becauſe it was clothed, and the other naked; an example of modeſty which would have been praiſed even in the Spartans. Our moſt eminent modern artiſts copy nature after the antique ſtatues, many of them having eſcaped the ravages of time. Nothing can do more honour to the taſte of the ancients.

Painting in Greece.

The wonders, which Pliny and ſeveral other writers tell us, of the ſtate of painting in Greece, cannot be proved; and ſeem the more incredible, as, even by the confeſſion of Pliny, the Greeks uſed only four colours, black, white, red and yellow. It is true that they were acquainted with that imperceptible diminution of the lights, that clear obſcure between light and ſhade, which makes the figures ſeem to ſwell on the canvas, and diſplays the moſt diſtant parts of the piece; but there is great room to doubt of their producing the ſame effects which are admired ſo much at preſent. Painted fruits pecked at by birds, and painted horſes which made horſes neigh, have a great deal of the marvellous, with which Pliny has overcharged his writings. What would he have ſaid, if he had ſeen the pictures painted by Raphael and Rubens?

Wonders more than doubtful.

Different kinds of painting.

The cauſtic painting conſiſted in applying wax of different colours, upon wood or ivory, by the help of fire;

fire; an art, of which the Comte de Caylus has recovered the ſecret. The ancients knew nothing of painting in oil. Pliny ſays, that they did not paint upon cloth before the time of Nero; and aſſures us, that the great maſters rarely painted in freſco. We have many pieces of ancient moſaic ſtill preſerved, which is not to be admired as painting.

Celebrated painters.

Polygnotus.

Apollodorus.

Zeuxis.

Parrhaſius.

Pamphilus.

Timanthes.

Apelles.

Protogenes.

Among the many celebrated painters, it is ſufficient to mention the name of Polygnotus, who received the thanks of the council of the Amphictyons in a public decree, which entitled him to have his expenſes defrayed wherever he travelled, for having painted *gratis* the ſtory of the Trojan war in one of the porticos of Athens; Apollodorus, who invented the enchanting art of painting in clear obſcure, before which, according to Pliny, there was not a picture which was thought worthy of attention; Zeuxis, who, having become wealthy, made preſents of his works, *becauſe*, as he haughtily ſaid, *they were invaluable*; Parrhaſius, whom Zeuxis, it is ſaid, allowed to be his ſuperiour, after having been deceived by a curtain which he had painted; Pamphilus, who was the firſt that added a knowledge of the ſciences to the art of painting, and required a talent yearly from his pupils; Timanthes, who became famous from his celebrated picture of Iphigenia, in which he drew a veil over the figure of Agamemnon, whoſe grief was too great for expreſſion; Apelles, the ſcholar of Pamphilus and painter of Alexander, who expoſed his works to public view, that he might profit by the remarks of paſſengers; and Protogenes, the rival of Apelles, who praiſed him highly, but with this addition, *that he did not know how to lay down his pencil*; that is to ſay, he offended by being too minute and correct.

The rewards of artiſts carried to exceſs.

The honours and rewards which were laviſhed upon artiſts, were undoubtedly the beſt inſtruments for inciting them to improve their genius, and Athens can only be reproached with having carried them to exceſs. The more they were ſenſible of the value of the fine arts, the more ought they to have felt that ſuperiority

which

which accompanies a life of virtue; the performing of noble actions, and every kind of ſolid merit, which inſtead of ſerving only to amuſe the people, ſhould help to improve their underſtandings, and ſecure their happineſs: but when theſe agreeable accompliſhments are preferred to all others; when they ſwallow up the rewards due to eſſential ſervices; when they exhauſt the wealth which is wanted for the ſupport of the nation; when there is ſuch a value ſet upon them, as to make every thing elſe to be looked upon with diſdain; then morals, principles, laws, and government, are threatened with a total overthrow.

The corruption which followed.

This the Athenians ſadly experienced. At the time when they were only engaged in admiring ſtatues, pictures, and public ſhows, Phryne the courteſan, miſtreſs of Praxiteles, and of many others, had the effrontery to undertake to rebuild the city of Thebes, upon condition that ſhe might affix the following inſcription: *Thebes was deſtroyed by Alexander, and rebuilt by Phryne.* Zeuxis, dreſſed in purple and gold, made a pompous diſplay of his pride at the Olympic games. Parrhaſius inſolently preſented himſelf to public view with a crown of gold upon his head, about the time that Socrates and Phocion drank the hemlock.

The importance attached to muſic.

One thing very remarkable in the manners of ancient Greece, is the importance which was attached to muſic. It was in ſome degree interwoven in the conſtitution, and even had an influence upon the laws. The auſtere Spartans were ſo attentive to muſic, and conſidered it as an object of ſo great importance, that every innovation was ſtrictly forbidden. Plato defends the neceſſity of this law, for which I can aſſign no motive but the acute ſenſibility of the Greeks, and the ſtrong impreſſion which was made upon them by harmony.

Its real uſe.

They had experienced the advantages of harmony, in civilizing the people, and ſoftening their ſavage manners, rouſing their courage in battle, inſpiring the love of virtue, and animating them to the performance of noble actions, by celebrating the praiſes of great men; for

muſic

muſic and poetry going hand in hand, conduce to that purpoſe. In one word, muſic became an eſſential part in the education of youth. That grave and judicious author Polybius takes notice, that it was ſo neceſſary to the Arcadians in particular, that by the neglect of it, one of their cities, Cynætha, became noted for its ferocity and barbarity, of which, till the time of that omiſſion, there had been but few examples. Plutarch, after the moſt famous philoſophers, repreſents muſic as an excellent means of ſoothing the paſſions, and regulating the heart and temper; but he ſpeaks of a manly, ſimple, majeſtic muſic, which had none of that effeminate licentiouſneſs, with which Plato and Ariſtotle reproach the theatres in their days. The principles ſhould be ſuited to poetry and dancing, both the one and the other being comprehended in the general idea of muſic. The Romans left an art to their ſlaves, which the Greeks held in ſuch eſtimation.

Ancient muſic.

At firſt the lyre had only three ſtrings: in the reign of Philip, Timotheus increaſed them to eleven, to which others were afterwards added. It is a doubt among the learned, whether the ancients were acquainted with *counterpoint*, or with pieces of muſic in different parts performed together. Their muſic was divided into eighteen tones, which they diſtinguiſhed by ſo many particular characters. The gamut which was invented by Guy d'Arezzo in the eleventh century has greatly facilitated the art; and in this as well as in many other things, the moderns ſeem greatly to excel the ancients. The work of M. Burette in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters, vol. v. may be conſulted for information on the ſubject.

SECT. III.

The ART *of* WAR.

Art of war.

THE improvement of the fine arts did not retard the progreſs of that of war. The many victories gained by the Greeks muſt be aſcribed to the diſcipline of the troops,

troops, and the abilities of their generals. I ſhall examine ſome particulars relating to their forces, for it is of conſequence to have an idea of the ſprings which produced ſuch important events, and decided the fate of kingdoms.

Citizens ſoldiers.

Citizens, born to defend their country, neceſſarily form her armies: a republican ſpirit, a love of glory and liberty, naturally produce heroes. A Spartan ſerved in the field from the age of thirty to ſixty, while the youth and aged guarded the city, where they lived harder than their fellow citizens who were with the army. War alone ſerved a little to ſoften the auſterity of that people, who had it in view in all their inſtitutions; and Lycurgus found the ſecret of making it a pleaſure to them. As to the Athenians, they entered into the ſervice of the republic, by taking a ſolemn oath at the age of eighteen, and carried arms till they were ſixty. Men who fight for their wives, children and property, and what is ſtill more, for their liberty, ought to be ſuperiour to the generality of military men; but what is it that a ſenſe of honour, and a well diſciplined army, cannot effect among the moderns?

Pay of the troops.

When the wars continued long, and were carried on at a diſtance, it became neceſſary to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the troops. Pericles fixed the pay of the army; the foot ſoldier had four oboli, the horſeman a drachma, the ſailor three oboli.* The Spartans were ſeen to ſerve in Aſia, in the pay of the Perſians.

Arms of the Greeks

The arms of the Grecians were a helmet, cuiraſs, buckler, ſword, lance, javelin, bow and arrows; which were all improved by time and experience. Iphicrates, an Athenian, reduced the ſize and weight of the buckler, and lengthened the ſwords and lances; he had cuiraſſes made of flax, ſteeped in vinegar mixed with ſalt, which it was ſaid were better than thoſe made of iron, but this is not eaſily to be conceived. He conſtantly exerciſed

* Five pence one ſixth. Seven pence three farthings. Three pence ſeven eighths, ſterling.

exercised his troops to military evolutions, and that important part of their duty was much improved.

Infantry. The greatest strength of the Grecian armies consisted in infantry. They had given up their chariots which were formerly so common, yet entirely useless, or rather dangerous. Cavalry. Their cavalry, which, for want of horses, were but few in number, fought in good order. They knew nothing of either saddles, stirrups or boots, and they could do without them. What is told of the Numidians is astonishing; for it is said they could manage their horses perfectly, without either bit or bridle. So much is it in the power of habit and industry to supply the want of those helps which we think absolutely necessary.

Art of sieges. During the war which Sparta carried on against the Messenians, the city of Ithome, from its being situated upon a mountain, held out a siege of nineteen years; the art of war was at that time in its infancy. In proportion as the Greeks became more enlightened, and the people reflected upon their interest, they made rapid progress in acquiring knowledge of that subject: the choosing proper situations for encamping, excellent dispositions for action, skilful manœuvres, the secrets of the attack and defence of places, were no longer unknown. Machines. They made use of all sorts of warlike machines; catapultæ, baliſtæ, moving towers, tortoises, battering rams, of which it is easy to find descriptions. We need only read the history of the sieges of Tyre and Syracuse, to make us conceive the resources which the ancients derived from genius and courage.

Means of exciting courage. It is needless to repeat that the maintenance of discipline, rewards and punishments, the love of glory and the dread of shame, were the principal causes, which gave the Greeks a superiority over their enemies. They spared no pains to render their people invincible. Though the Spartans were accustomed to despise death from their infancy, yet they wore red clothes when they went to war, to prevent the blood from being seen to flow from their wounds. Nature should be assisted in

every thing; ſometimes things which are apparently of but little conſequence, produce great effects. What is it that hope and fear, the two great movers of the human heart, cannot effect when guided by prudence?

CHAP. II.

The BELLES LETTRES.

SECT. I.

POETRY.

Advantages of the Greeks for acquiring learning.

A DELICATE taſte, a lively imagination, a fertility of genius, a rich harmonious language, eminent abilities excited by the moſt ardent emulation, all together contributed to make the Greeks, in point of learning, the maſters and models of the whole world.

Their language.

Their incomparable language, univerſally flexible, and fit to embelliſh every ſubject, had, under the pen of Homer, united grace, ſtrength and majeſty, and was worthy either to celebrate the praiſes of Jupiter or of Venus; which, if I am not miſtaken, evidently proves that there were good writers before the time of Homer; for languages are formed but very ſlowly, and can be improved only by the labours of the learned.

Origin and objects of poetry.

Poetry has almoſt always been prior to every other kind of learning; which is undoubtedly owing to its being the produce of ſentiment and fancy, two faculties of the mind always employed before reaſon. Senſible minds are led by a kind of inſtinct to ſing their pleaſures, their happineſs, the gods whom they adore, the heroes they admire, and the events they wiſh to have engraven upon their memories: accordingly poetry has been cultivated in all ſavage nations. The warmth of the paſſions has been of great uſe in promoting this delightful art; but the cauſe of humanity has often given a ſubject for the ſong of the poet. The intention of the Iliad of Homer was to ſtifle that diſcord which prevailed

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in the minds of the Greeks, and, by exhibiting a view of the noble deeds of their anceſtors, to inſpire them with a paſſion for performing heroic actions. If the milder virtues had been known at that time, it is probable they had likewiſe been celebrated by Homer.

Tragedy. The drama, which was invented in the time of Solon, had its ſource from the poems of Homer: actions, which gave pleaſure to the reader, received additional charms by being introduced upon the ſtage, and were accompanied with eminent advantages. Æſchylus, who was the real father of tragedy (for the farces of Theſpis do not deſerve that name) employed terrour and pity to affect the human heart. He lived at the time of the invaſion by Xerxes, and his pieces were filled with expreſſions of hatred againſt tyranny. Sophocles made his appearance before the death of Æſchylus, and not only diſputed with him, but carried from him, the prize of merit, by rendering tragedy more intereſting, by the regularity of his plots, and the elevation of his ſtyle. Euripides, who was his rival, introduced that philoſophy, which brings morals into action, and inſpires the mind with a love of virtue.

Its uſe. We can ſcarcely believe that the principal view of theſe poets was to correct the paſſions, by affecting the heart with pathetic ſubjects; but it is certain, that while they ſought the approbation of the ſpectators, they conveyed moſt admirable inſtructions to the audience, without making uſe of expreſſions which could corrupt the hearts, or injure the morals, of the people. How greatly uſeful would theatrical repreſentations prove, if ſuch alluring pleaſures were only employed as a vehicle for conveying noble and virtuous ſentiments!

Ancient, middle & modern comedy. Comedy, in particular, may be made one of the beſt ſchools for ſociety, by expoſing vice to ridicule. It is inconceivable how the Athenians could beſtow ſuch applauſe as they did upon the indecent buffooneries of Ariſtophanes, after having acquired a reliſh for the moral leſſons of their tragic poets. They almoſt imputed to Euripides as a crime the having put the following ex-

An uncommon latitude permitted to Ariſtophanes.

preſſion into the mouth of Hippolytus—*My tongue has pronounced the oath, but my heart does not approve*—though the oath to which he alludes ſeems to be oppoſite to his duty; yet at the ſame time they permitted the characters of their gods, as well as the government, their magiſtrates, and Socrates, to be ridiculed upon the ſtage, in pieces which were equally an inſult to religion and common decency. The *old* comedy was of moſt unbridled licentiouſneſs, ſacrificing every thing to ſatire; and what we have ſtill remaining of Ariſtophanes is in that reſpect a diſgrace to Athens. *Middle* comedy, which ſprung up in the time of the thirty tyrants, only diſguiſed the names, and inſulted the perſons; which rather whetted than extinguiſhed the malignity of the people. But at laſt Alexander checked this inſolent licentiouſneſs. The *new* comedy deſcribed the manners, without offending particular perſons, by preſenting a mirrour, as Boileau expreſſes it, in which every one might ſee a picture of himſelf, laugh at his own irregularities, and in an agreeable manner learn to correct his errours. We cannot too much regret the loſs of the works of Menander, who ſhone eminently in this boundleſs field, ſince we know that the taſte of Terence was formed from his writings.

True comedy.

We muſt be as zealous idolizers of antiquity as madam Dacier, not to allow that the moderns are greatly ſuperiour to the Greeks in the dramatic art. While we acknowledge them to have been our maſters, let us not hoodwink our reaſon ſo far as to offer incenſe to their faults, at the expenſe of the juſtice we owe to their rivals. The amazing number of dramatic productions of the ancients ſerves only to prove that they were not very delicate, either in the conduct or compoſition of their pieces. It is ſaid, that Sophocles wrote about a hundred and thirty.

The moderns ſuperiour to the ancients in the dramatic art.

The violent rage which the Athenians had for public ſpectacles, the rewards which they adjudged to their poets, the honour of being declared in public to be ſuperiour to their rivals, contributed to accelerate the pro-

The paſſion which the Athenians had for the ſtage.

greſs

greſs of that engaging art. It requires ages before good taſte can be brought to take place of the clowniſh farces of our progenitors. Athens very ſoon had her Sophocles, and her Euripides; and in ſome degree, the care of the theatre, among that frivolous people, was made a buſineſs of the ſtate: we might approve of this, if their ſole object had been to improve their manners; but Ariſtophanes, and others of his ſtamp, were authorized to poiſon the minds of the people. What idea can we form of that ſtate where buffoons have a privilege to inſult virtue, and a power to make the people riſe up in rebellion againſt her?

Other kinds of poetry.

All the other kinds of poetry, the lyric, elegiac, epigrammatic, and paſtoral, have likewiſe come to us from the Greeks, and have all been improved by the Romans. That genius ſhould profit by the models of antiquity, by attending to their imperfections, and imitating their beauties with better taſte, is nothing ſurpriſing.

SECT. II.

HISTORY.

History among the Greeks.

THE knowledge of hiſtory is one of the greateſt advantages we have derived from our acquaintance with the Greeks. Confuſed heaps of facts collected without method, traditions frequently ridiculous handed down without knowing through what channel they paſſed, ſerved inſtead of annals to the different nations of antiquity, which could only keep the people longer in a ſtate of barbarous ignorance, till the art of writing became univerſal, and ſome learned, diligent authors, collected, examined and arranged hiſtorical materials to form an intereſting collection of inſtruction. Though ſome fables muſt have crept into works of this kind, when the writers are obliged to include the hiſtory of ancient times, of which no monuments remain, yet there are precious truths ſtill to be found; and what is perhaps not leſs valuable, we learn even from theſe fables to ſuſpend our judgment, and to raiſe doubts which are neceſſary

ceſſary to make us inquire where the truth lies. The errours of the ancients, after having for a long time miſled credulous diſpoſitions, at laſt produced rules of criticiſm by which we ought to guard againſt miſtakes.

Herodotus

Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria, is looked upon as the father of hiſtory; he was born a few years before the expedition of Xerxes into Greece. His hiſtory begins with the reign of Cyrus, and ends with the ſea engagement at Mycale: his digreſſions, which relate to the Egyptians and other people, are in a great meaſure fabulous, becauſe he truſted to the traditions of the prieſts; and it muſt be owned that he is not always to be depended on in his relation of circumſtances which happened in his own time; he was too fond of the marvellous to be able to diſtinguiſh the truth. We find him uttering a number of ſplendid falſities, with an air of candour, which has brought the ſcandalous reproach of falſehood upon Greece *(Græcia mendax.)* If he does not always prove their truth, he ſeems to believe them himſelf; yet when compared with our ancient writers of chronicles, not only for the method, but for the matter, he deſerves the higheſt encomiums. *See page* 146.

His example animates Thucydides.

It was the deſire of that hiſtorian to pleaſe the Greeks by flattering their credulous vanity. Reading his hiſtory at the Olympic games, and afterwards at one of the moſt ſplendid feſtivals of Athens, procured him univerſal applauſe. Thucydides, who was then young, happened to be preſent, and, being tranſported with a degree of enthuſiaſm, melted into tears, as if it had been a theatrical repreſentation; which proof of genius and ſenſibility being obſerved by the author, he adviſed the father of the young man to cultivate ſuch promiſing parts with all poſſible attention. A ſingle example is often ſufficient, at an early period of life, to rouſe a ſuperiour genius, and to direct its future courſe.

Thucydides.

From that time, Thucydides dedicated his attention to ſtudy, and while he ſerved in the Peloponneſian war, his mind was conſtantly taken up with the thoughts of writing its hiſtory; he examined every thing, he collected

lected materials, and made accurate memorandums of every tranſaction. A twenty years baniſhment afforded him ſufficient leiſure to execute his purpoſe; and at his return to his native country, upon the expulſion of the thirty tyrants, he put the laſt hand to that excellent work which comprehends the hiſtory of the twenty one firſt years of the war. The gravity of his ſtyle, and the ſoundneſs of his judgment, evidently ſhew that he was more ſolicitous to inſtruct than to pleaſe his readers.

Miſtaken criticiſm of Dionyſius.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, who has been praiſed as a good hiſtorian and excellent critic, in drawing a parallel between Herodotus and Thucydides gives the preference to the firſt, for reaſons which I cannot think worthy of either a critic or hiſtorian. He blames Thucydides for the choice of his ſubject, and the melancholy ſpectacles which he preſents to the view of the reader; for the want of epiſodes and digreſſions, and for the ſeverity of his cenſures, &c.: but he ought rather to have found fault with both Herodotus and Thucydides for having introduced ſo many orations into their hiſtories, from a deſire to embelliſh them, though the ſtrict truth ſhould thereby be ſacrificed.

Xenophon

Xenophon and Cteſias, of whom we have already made particular mention, though younger, were cotemporaries of Thucydides. Beſide the Cyropædia, and the expedition of the ten thouſand, Xenophon continued the Grecian hiſtory from the time that Alcibiades returned to Athens. He appears often too credulous for a philoſopher and the diſciple of Socrates, but he had an infinite reſpect for religion.

Polybius.

Polybius of Megalopolis, the pupil of Philopæmen, and friend of the great Scipio, deſerves to be preferred to all the Greek, and moſt of the Latin, hiſtorians. Of his *Univerſal Hiſtory*, which contained the whole tranſactions that happened from the beginning of the ſecond Punic war till the reduction of Macedonia, there are only his firſt five books, with ſome fragments, remaining. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, that the reading of Polybius is intolerable, becauſe he does not know how

to

to arrange his words. This critic was fond of fine phraſes, and certainly preferred words to things; but Brutus ſtudied Polybius on the eve of the battle of Pharſalia.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus.

The Roman Antiquities, which was written by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, in the time of Auguſtus, is a work which has been highly praiſed, and contains much intereſting matter upon the manners and cuſtoms of ancient Rome; but the critic diſcovers all the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious Greek, anxious to give a Grecian origin to every thing valuable. His eleven firſt books, which time has ſpared, come no lower than the three hundred and twelfth year of Rome; the other nine are entirely loſt.

Diodorus Siculus.

Diodorus Siculus, who copied Cteſias, and has not been much credited, as we formerly obſerved, lived in the time of Cæſar and Auguſtus. His *Hiſtorical Library*, of which there remain only fifteen books, goes as far back as the fabulous ages, even to the origin of the world, and comes down as low as the invaſion of the Gauls. This author, who travelled for inſtruction, too much reſembles thoſe travellers who are totally ignorant of philoſophy, and whoſe lies or credulity have filled their hiſtories with doubts and perplexity.

Plutarch.

There is not a Greek hiſtorian whoſe hiſtory can be read with more advantage than Plutarch, the cotemporary of Nero; becauſe he brings his readers acquainted with men, but more particularly with celebrated characters; and becauſe his writings are animated with ſound morality. He is ſometimes miſtaken, but he never fails to engage and inſtruct.

SECT. III.

ELOQUENCE.

Eloquence at Athens.

BEFORE the time of Pericles, Athens had her declaimers; for the oratorical pulpit was become an open theatre for the purſuits of zeal and ambition; nevertheleſs, the origin of true eloquence, which to the art

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of convincing by reaſon unites the talent of perſuading by ſentiment, was aſcribed to Pericles. Eloquence could not fail to flouriſh in a city, where fame and fortune were ſure to follow popular applauſe; where it acquired a power in all deliberations, even thoſe of the republic, and where the moſt eloquent man became likewiſe the moſt powerful.

Demoſthenes.

Let us not then be ſurpriſed that Demoſthenes, actuated by theſe motives, made ſuch extraordinary efforts to excel in this purſuit. The weakneſs of his voice, and a defect in his pronunciation, occaſioned his being hiſſed, upon his firſt attempt to ſpeak in public. A comedian, to whom in deſpair he lamented his misfortune, comforted him by ſaying, that he could find an eaſy remedy. He made him rehearſe ſome verſes, which he himſelf afterwards repeated with ſuch energy and grace, that Demoſthenes found they had a quite different effect. This experiment convinced the young orator that his ſucceſs in a great meaſure depended upon action; he therefore built himſelf a vault where he could practiſe without relaxation or diſturbance for months together. Sometimes, that he might accuſtom himſelf to noiſe, he went and declaimed upon the ſea ſhore; at other times, on purpoſe to looſen his tongue, he ſpoke with ſmall ſtones in his mouth, while walking or climbing. What is it that the love of labour, joined to ambition, is not able to accompliſh? Demoſthenes got the better of nature, and, by his eloquence, ruled as he pleaſed. Eſchines ſhrunk in his preſence; neither Demades nor Phocion could oppoſe him: the thunder of his eloquence carried all before him, and was more dreaded by Philip than the fleets and armies of Athens.

His labours.

Iſocrates but an indifferent orator.

The corruption of oratory has been aſcribed to Demetrius Phalereus, who preferred a florid ſtyle to the powerful warmth of his predeceſſors; but I am more inclined to think that the famous Iſocrates ſhould be looked upon as the model of that bad taſte. Cicero ſomewhere calls him a great orator, but in another place ſays, that his kind of eloquence was better calculated for

for ornament than action; it was therefore baniſhed from the bar, and confined to the ſchools. *(Orat.* 41.) Iſocrates was only remarkable for a cold, inanimate elegance; he never moves the reader, he harangues. As he was deficient in action, his application was dedicated to compoſition, and the teaching of rhetoric; by which he gained a conſiderable fortune. It is ſaid that Demoſthenes learnt of another perſon, becauſe he could not afford to pay the fees which were demanded by Iſocrates.

The ſophiſts were rhetoricians.

When oratory was in eſteem, there were maſters who ſtepped forth to teach the art; and in general the ſophiſts ſet themſelves up as rhetoricians. Their example and precepts could not fail to prove contagious. Inſtead of following the principles of truth and nature, they taught their pupils to alter the appearance of every thing, to change little into great, to give the colour of truth to falſehood, to take either ſide of a queſtion indifferently, and to dazzle by deluſions which could make no laſting impreſſion. A philoſopher ſuch as Ariſtotle, or an orator like Cicero, was wanting, to eſtabliſh ſound oratory. Even at this day there is nothing but the ſtudy of excellent models, frequent practice, and, above all, genius and abilities, which can make true orators. Eloquence ſhould be ſtudied in the Philippics, and ſuch other maſter pieces. The taſte may be guided by good rules; but good morals give a form and a ſoul.

CHAP. III.

Of the SCIENCES.

SECT. I.

PHILOSOPHY.

How men's minds acquire a turn for the ſciences.

WHEN the minds of men are ſet in motion, and they are led by curioſity, emulation, or any other motive, to dedicate their attention to ſtudy, it is impoſſible

impoſſible that all can purſue the ſame track; ſo that if the *belles lettres* have an invincible attraction for ſome, there are others no leſs delighted with the ſciences: a paſſion for acquiring knowledge, and a love of ſearching after truth, ſhew themſelves even in the train of the muſes. When the pleaſures derived from reaſon begin to be reliſhed, thoſe of the imagination loſe their influence upon thoſe ſerious, active minds, who prefer the ſolid to the agreeable, or rather who find what is agreeable in the diſcovery of truth. Man, ſociety, and nature, preſent to them an immenſe field for reflection and inquiry: they embrace philoſophy, becauſe there alone can they find the gratification of their deſires.

Purſuits of the firſt philoſophers.

The firſt philoſophers were ſages who chiefly dedicated their attention to the ſtudy and practice of morality. What could beſt ſecure the happineſs of individuals or of the ſtate, was the ſubject of their meditations; their deepeſt contemplations related to that object; they were unacquainted with vain ſubtilties and contentions about words, or with a paſſion for ſupporting different ſyſtems and ſects, which produced ſuch numberleſs errours and extravagances, when ſenſe was forſaken for intellectual cauſes, and the love of truth was ſacrificed to opinion. They afterwards loſt themſelves in different hypotheſes on the origin of the world, the firſt cauſe, the ſupreme good, &c. &c. Wiſdom evaporated in idle reveries and endleſs ſophiſtry. What was ſaid to Thales of Miletus, by a good woman, who ſaw him fall while contemplating the ſtars, may be applied to moſt of the ancient philoſophers: *How ſhould you know the heavens*, ſaid ſhe, *when you do not ſee what is at your feet?*

The Ionic and Italian ſects.

The Grecian philoſophy was divided into two branches, the Ionic and Italian ſects; both of which were ſubdivided into ſeveral others. Thales, the cotemporary of Solon, was at the head of the firſt, and Pythagoras the chief of the ſecond. I ſhall only ſpeak as an hiſtorian, and mention the moſt celebrated philoſophers, but in a few words, confining myſelf to what is moſt intereſting.

Pythagoras

Pythagoras, The reformer of morals.

Pythagoras deſerves to be ranked firſt, becauſe he laboured effectually in the cauſe of morals. It was not in the time of Numa, as numbers have ſuppoſed, but in that of Tarquin the proud, about five hundred and forty years before the chriſtian era, that that great man did ſo much honour to Greece, and ſo much good to Italy. He was believed to be a native of Samos, and having heard the reaſonings of a philoſopher upon the immortality of the ſoul, immediately devoted himſelf in a kind of enthuſiaſm, to the ſtudy of philoſophy. He travelled into Egypt, Phœnicia, Chaldea, and probably as far as the Indies, in queſt of knowledge. Though a geometrician and aſtronomer, he looked upon virtue as the firſt of the ſciences, and was perſuaded that he was born to make proſelytes. After having taught ſome time in Greece, he went into that part of Italy, which is called *Magna Græcia*, becauſe of the colonies by which it was peopled. Crotona, Metapontum and Tarentum, were the places in which he chiefly reſided. Here he did not ſhut himſelf up in the ſhade of his cloſet, but openly harangued in the cauſe of virtue, to reform the manners of the people. Crotona, a place noted for debauchery, very ſoon changed its appearance; a reformation took place, the women ſtript themſelves of their ornaments, and the marriage vow became inviolably ſacred. Several other towns of Italy likewiſe followed the inſtructions of the philoſopher, and were governed by his counſels. One of his maxims was, that there were but five things which ought to be combated; the diſeaſes of the body, the ignorance of the mind, the paſſions of the heart, ſedition in cities, and diſcord in private families.

His labours in Italy.

What things he thought ſhould be combated

His method of forming his diſciples.

He lived in the ſame ſociety with his diſciples, and made them ſubmit to a kind of noviciate, for at leaſt two years, and ſome for five, during which time they were to learn in ſilence, without being entitled to inquire the reaſon of his doctrines, becauſe he did not imagine they were capable of reaſoning until they had imbibed good principles. He taught them to reaſon by making

making them acquainted with geometry, without which they could not diſcover a quack or impoſtor. Whatever he ſaid, was received as an oracle. *The maſter ſaid ſo*, was ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of the ſcholars. Did he then order a blind ſubmiſſion, or did he diſpel their doubts by perſuaſion? The true philoſopher can never think of tyrannizing over the human mind, and it is not probable that a geometrician would deſire to be believed upon his word.

His doctrine of the divinity was excellent. He taught the unity of God, the author of all things, an infinite almighty ſpirit, incapable of ſuffering, who is not an object of our ſenſes, or perceivable but to the underſtanding. His deſire was, that all our actions, and all our application, ſhould be directed to make us reſemble the Deity, by the acquiſition of truth; adding, that to know the truth, it is neceſſary to ſeek it with a pure heart, and keep the paſſions in perfect ſubjection. Perhaps it is without any foundation that the opinion of the Stoics has been aſcribed to him; that God is the ſoul of the univerſe, from whence human ſouls are derived as parts from their whole: but at leaſt he does not ſeem to have taken it in the ſame ſenſe with the materialiſts. His doctrine of the divinity.

The metempſychoſis was a fundamental part of his doctrine, in conſequence of which, he forbid the killing and eating of animals. The rewarding the good, and puniſhing the wicked, were connected with this idea, which was ſpread over all Aſia and Egypt. It muſt be owned that this was an uſeful errour, for thoſe people had not the advantage of revelation to inform them of a future ſtate. Metempſychoſis.

Some miracles and abſurd ſtories have been handed down about Pythagoras, becauſe he was looked upon as inſpired. Impoſitions equally improbable, have likewiſe been attributed to him; but the laws of his diſciples, Zaleucus and Charondas, of which ſome valuable fragments have been preſerved by Diodorus, ſerve as a proof of his profound wiſdom, amidſt the ignorance His diſciples were legiſlators

of

of idolatry. The firſt of theſe was a lawgiver of the Sibarites, a people formerly noted for their effeminacy; the ſecond, of the Locrians in Italy. The preamble to the laws of Zaleucus dwells upon the exiſtence of the Deity, to whom every good which we enjoy ought to be aſcribed, who diſdains the ſacrifices of the wicked, and who ſhould be honoured by purity of morals and the exerciſe of every virtue. A body of laws erected upon ſuch a foundation, is the more to be reſpected, as it inſpires mankind with a love of thoſe duties which it preſcribes.

Thales. Anaxagoras.

Thales, the chief of the Ionic ſect, ſaid that water was the firſt principal of all things, and that God, a ſpiritual ſubſtance, which he believed to be the ſoul of matter, had formed every thing out of water. Anaxagoras, about an age after Thales, taught that the formation of the univerſe ought to be aſcribed to the infinitely powerful and wiſe being. He believed that matter was eternal, and his ſucceſſors adhered to that opinion. However, it was the greateſt ſtep that could be taken by a philoſopher, to exalt his knowledge to the belief of a Supreme Being, whoſe wiſdom had formed the world. Anaxagoras appeared impious in the eyes of the Athenians, becauſe he ſaid that the ſun was a flaming ſubſtance; for which he would have been put to death, if Pericles had not made him fly from that ſuperſtitious city. Such are the deciſions of ignorance, animated by a blind zeal, which is a diſgrace to that religion it pretends to ſupport. Upon that philoſopher being aſked whether he choſe to have his body, after his death, carried to Clazomene, the place of his nativity: *To what purpoſe?* replied he; *the road to the other world is as ſhort from one place as another.*

Socrates.

Socrates, the diſciple of Anaxagoras, dedicated all his labours to ſerve the cauſe of virtue. He laughed at the vanity of the ſophiſts, and taught his pupils to think that the proper ſtudy of man was to know himſelf, that he might become better. He devoted his philoſophy to the good of the public, from which it never ſhould be

be ſeparated; and was made to drink the hemlock like an impious criminal, as a reward for his piety, and ſervices to his country.

Socrates committed nothing to writing; but Plato, his diſciple, compoſed many excellent pieces in an eloquent ſtyle, upon the Deity, the ſoul, laws, and the duties of morality, though he introduced a number of extravagant ideas, from whence an infinity of chimeras were produced. He was governed by fancy, but a philoſopher ſhould hearken only to reaſon. He created an intellectual world, in which genii, numbers, and fantaſtical relations, formed a perfect chaos. Pythagoras had employed numbers, probably as ſigns; but Plato employed them as reaſons, and nature was forgot in all his ſyſtems: it could not be found either in his phyſics or metaphyſics, nor even in his morals, and ſtill leſs in his politics, the principles of which are impracticable: nevertheleſs, he is often ſo admirable, that even his imperfections are enticing. *I ſhould like better to be deceived with Plato*, ſaid Cicero, *than to think right with the other philoſophers*. (Tuſcul. 1.) A ſtrange maxim indeed, but ſerves to ſhew that the greateſt geniuſes ſometimes are dupes to prejudice.

Plato.

Abuſe of numbers.

Ariſtotle, of Stagyra in Macedonia, the moſt celebrated of all the diſciples of Plato, was of very different ſentiments, and was the founder of the ſect of Peripatetics. When Alexander ſet out on his expedition to Aſia, Ariſtotle went to teach at Athens, from whence he withdrew upon being accuſed of impiety by a prieſt of Ceres, though without any proof being offered; *to prevent the Athenians*, as he ſaid, *from committing a ſecond offence againſt philoſophy*. His doctrine of the Deity is equivocal. Sometimes he would have it that the world is God; at other times that there is a God ſuperiour to the world. The obſcurity in which almoſt every ſubject he has handled is immerſed, has been greatly increaſed by the ignorance of modern peripatetics; but he has left ſome very valuable monuments of his abilities upon politics, natural hiſtory, and the *belles lettres*, in which

Ariſtotle.

which there is ample room to admire the extent of his knowledge, and the acuteneſs of his genius.

Arceſilas. Carneades

The academy or ſchool of Plato grew very ſoon tired of that dogmatical philoſophy, whoſe opinions, adopted at random, could not convince people who were capable of reaſoning; they therefore followed the method of Socrates, who maintained nothing that was doubtful. Arceſilas, who was founder of the *middle academy*, went from one extreme to another. He ſeemed to doubt of every thing; and ſuſpended his judgment upon all ſubjects, as if there was no ſuch thing as truth in the world. The *new academy*, founded by Carneades, followed a ſyſtem, which in appearance was not ſo extravagant, but in the end amounted to almoſt the ſame thing. He acknowledged that there were truths, but ſo obſcure, and confounded with ſo many errours, that they could not be diſcerned with any degree of certainty; and thus his followers were permitted to act from probabilities, provided they affirmed nothing poſitively. There was at leaſt modeſty in this philoſophy. What a multitude of errours and contentions would have been prevented, if doubts had been extended to thoſe principles which have been beſt eſtabliſhed by reaſon and ſentiment!

Antiſthenes chief of the Cynics.

At the time that Plato was reaſoning with more pomp than ſolidity, Antiſthenes, another diſciple of Socrates, founded the ſect of the Cynics, ſo celebrated for the auſterity of its maxims, and the audacity of its followers. Being content with only a cloak, a wallet and a ſtaff, for their whole property, they ſeemed to think themſelves entitled to cenſure all the reſt of the world. Antiſthenes made happineſs to conſiſt ſolely in virtue. Upon being aſked, of what uſe was his philoſophy to him, he replied, *To keep me in friendſhip with myſelf.* A prieſt initiating him in the myſteries of Orpheus, and praiſing the happineſs of a future ſtate, he bluntly ſaid, *Wherefore do ye not die then?* He was a ſour miſanthrope, more likely to make virtue deteſted by his harſhneſs, than loved by his example.

The

The famous Diogenes of Sinope, who was baniſhed from his country for making counterfeit money, inſiſted upon being one of his diſciples. Antiſthenes rejected him, and even threatened to ſtrike him. *Strike*, ſaid the enthuſiaſtic proſelyte; *but you will not find a ſtaff ſufficiently ſtrong to make me withdraw, while you are to be heard.* Diogenes took the wallet, and, foregoing every thing, lived in a caſk, where he declared open war againſt vice, without reſpect of perſons. He was anſwered ſometimes by having ſtones thrown at him; at others, by throwing bones to him, as to a ſurly dog, which only ſerved to make him more bold and inſolent. *I tread the pride of Plato under my feet*, ſaid he one day. *Yes*, replied that philoſopher, *but it is with another kind of pride.* Such a ſyſtem of philoſophy was at bottom nothing better than an inſult to humanity. Of the many maxims which have been aſcribed to Diogenes, the following ſeems the moſt remarkable. *Chooſe good people for your friends, that they may encourage you to what is right; and the wicked for enemies, that they may hinder you from being wicked.* Phocion was reckoned among the number of his diſciples, but that great man knew how to temper his wiſdom. Diogenes, one of his diſciples.

Crates, another Cynic, ſold a very rich patrimony, and, throwing the money into the ſea, cried out, *Now I am free.* He was ugly and deformed; yet Hipparchia, the ſiſter of an Athenian orator, notwithſtanding the diſſuaſions of the whole family, would be married to him; and, to render herſelf more worthy of that happineſs, aſſumed the ſtaff and wallet. Such a ſect could not fail to produce enthuſiaſts, and very ſoon to degenerate into licentiouſneſs, like every ſyſtem which carries ideas of virtue, principles, or duty, to extravagance. Crates & Hipparchia.

Zeno, born at Citium in the iſle of Cyprus, was a diſciple of Crates, and founder of the ſect of the Stoics. He had formerly been a merchant, but, having been ſhipwrecked, an accident upon which he often congratulated himſelf, took the opportunity of commencing the ſtudy of philoſophy at Athens. His ſyſtem of morals Zeno and the Stoics.

was at bottom the ſame with that of the Cynics, but ſtript of the indecent exterior which made it ſo cenſured. The Stoics confounded the Divinity with the material world, of which, according to their doctrine, he was the ſoul diffuſed over all. To extricate themſelves from the objections againſt a providence, they alledged, that nature had executed every thing in the beſt manner poſſible, with ſuch elements as exiſted. This is in a degree the ſyſtem of optimiſm; but they added a fatality, which is inconſiſtent with the doctrine of a providence. They maintained that virtue is the ſupreme good; that it makes mankind happy, though ſurrounded with misfortunes, and even that afflictions are not an evil; in one word, that a life of reaſon conſtituted happineſs.

Their ſyſtem of the Deity.

Of virtue.

The ſage of the Stoics.

The true ſage of the Stoics, was an accompliſhed man, who was not to be affected by the paſſions, and even inſenſible to pity, which diſtreſſes the ſoul, though at the ſame time devoted to diſcharge all the duties of humanity. The Peripatetics, who were not ſuch enthuſiaſts, ſeeing man compoſed of ſoul and body, condeſcended to make ſome allowance for the feeling of bodily pleaſure and pain, which are natural to humanity; but the enthuſiaſm of the Stoics raiſed them above the calls of nature.

Opinion of Stoiciſm by Monteſquieu.

"If I could ceaſe but for one moment to think that "I am a Chriſtian," ſays Monteſquieu, "I could not help "reckoning the deſtruction of the ſect of Zeno among "the misfortunes which have befallen mankind. They "carried nothing to exceſs but what ſerved to elevate "the mind of man, by teaching him to deſpiſe both "pain and pleaſure. The Stoics alone knew how to "form good citizens, or great men." *(Eſprit des Loix. liv.* xxiv.) Plutarch judiciouſly obſerves, that the doctrine of the Stoics was dangerous for a warm temper prone to exceſs; but in a mild, ſteady diſpoſition, it worked wonders. *One part of valuable knowledge*, according to Zeno, *is to be ignorant of what we ought not to know. (Life of Cleomenes.)* This maxim is a ſufficient encomium

encomium on Zeno. Cleanthes, Chryſippus, Panætius and Epictetus have done leſs credit to Stoiciſm, than the virtues of Cato, Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius.

A very different ſect had for a long time exiſted without being much known, till it became celebrated by means of Epicurus. Democritus, of the city of Abdera in Thrace, who died in the year three hundred and ſixty one before Jeſus Chriſt, was its founder. This philoſopher had learnt the doctrine of a vacuum, and of atoms, from Leucippus. The knowledge which he acquired, during a long courſe of travel, with his profound contemplations on nature, rendered him one of the moſt learned men in the world. The inhabitants of Abdera, ſeeing him laugh at every thing (for to him human life was a perpetual comedy) ſent Hippocrates to cure him of what they thought madneſs; but the phyſician was not deceived, and told them, that none were ſo mad as they who thought themſelves the moſt wiſe and of ſoundeſt judgment. None of this philoſopher's works are extant. Democritus.

Epicurus, who was born in Attica about three hundred and forty two years before our era, brought the doctrine of Democritus into vogue. He taught that the world was formed by an accidental aſſemblage of atoms; that the gods did not interfere in natural events, nor in human affairs; and that the ſoul and body periſhed together. He made happineſs, or the ſupreme good, to conſiſt in pleaſure; by which he meant thoſe pleaſures of the mind, which are the fruits of virtue, and ſuppoſe a life of temperance. His own life is a proof of his ſentiments on that head, ſince he eat nothing but pulſe in his delightful garden, and drank only water. He conſtantly attended the temples, either out of ſubmiſſion to the laws and cuſtoms of his country, or to prevent his being accuſed of impiety. He had a zealous regard for the welfare of the public, and recommended obedience, ſaying, *That it is a duty to wiſh for good princes, and ſubmit even to bad.* His uncommon patience during a moſt painful diſorder, with the attachment and Epicurus & his diſciples. What he underſtood by pleaſure. His prudent conduct.

veneration of his diſciples, ought to ſerve as a refutation of thoſe calumnies with which his memory has been loaded. His morals have been defended by Origen, St. Gregory of Nazianza, and ſome others of the fathers. His life was a life of prudence, though his doctrine cannot be approved; which, faulty as it is, was greatly abuſed by ſucceeding Epicureans, who, for the pleaſures of virtue, ſubſtituted thoſe of ſenſe; and, believing neither in a providence nor a future ſtate, gave a free ſcope to all their paſſions.

Eleatic ſect.

From the Eleatic ſect, of which were Parmenides, Zeno of Elea, Leucippus, Democritus, &c. ſprung

Pyrrhoniſm.

Pyrrhoniſm and Atheiſm. Pyrrho of Elis, in Peloponneſus, rejected all truths as uncertain, and taught his followers to believe, that juſtice or injuſtice depended ſolely upon laws and cuſtoms: to live or die was the ſame thing. *Wherefore do you not die then?* ſaid ſome perſon to him. *Preciſely*, ſaid he, *becauſe there is no difference between life and death.* Having been rallied one day upon his running away from a dog, he extricated himſelf by ſaying, *It is difficult for a man to get the better of his natural timidity.* Pyrrhoniſm is too ridiculous to have followers: men's natural feelings raiſe inſuperable obſtructions to ſuch ſubtilties.

Atheiſm.

Atheiſm, on the contrary, is capable of producing the greateſt miſchief, by attacking a truth, which, though it does not fall immediately under our ſenſes, is

Protagoras and Diagoras.

nevertheleſs the beſt ſupport of morals. Protagoras, a diſciple of Democritus, having uſed this expreſſion in one of his books—*I cannot ſay whether there are any gods or not*—the Athenians cauſed his works to be burnt, and drove him out of the city. Diagoras openly denied the exiſtence of a Deity. The Athenians ſummoned him to be tried, but he made his eſcape; upon which a reward of a talent was promiſed to whoever killed him, or two talents to any one that would bring him alive. What ſtate could tolerate an errour ſo fatal to the happineſs of the human race? Yet let us remember, that the Athenians put to death the pious Socrates as an atheiſt;

atheiſt; and let us not confound the abuſes of ſuperſtition with the well founded complaints of inſulted religion.

The more the Grecian theology was abſurd, the greater the merit of the philoſophers, who endeavoured to diſpel the deluſions by ſound reaſon; ſince they had ſo much to dread from the madneſs of the populace, excited by the hatred of the prieſts. Theſe would have it, that the ſun was Apollo, and the moon Diana, becauſe otherwiſe the temples of Diana and Apollo would have been ſtript of a great ſhare of their wealth: they therefore accuſed thoſe philoſophers of impiety, who in the univerſe ſaw nothing but an infinite intelligence, and the natural phenomena. Beſides, the philoſophers were leſs acquainted with the nature of the Deity than the common people are now, who have the advantage of being enlightened by a Chriſtian revelation. I ſpeak of thoſe people only, who have been taught by men truly worthy of the prieſthood. The philoſophers accuſed of impiety.

It ſeems, after all, that the ſpeculative philoſophy of the Greeks has produced ſcarcely any thing but errours and diſputes; becauſe, inſtead of having recourſe to experiment, they erected ſyſtems, and dreamed when they ought to have been employed in making obſervations. A taſte for ſophiſtry and ill founded ſubtilties, pride and infatuation, became common to all the different ſects; from whence thoſe multitudes of follies and chimeras have proceeded, which have been handed down to our times.

SECT. II.

GEOMETRY, ASTRONOMY, GEOGRAPHY.

NEVERTHELESS they cultivated geometry; a ſcience which, being purely demonſtrative, is ſo well calculated to give the mind a diſreliſh to all doubtful opinions. Pythagoras taught it to his diſciples; and it was made uſe of by Anaxagoras, Plato, Ariſtotle, &c. Euclid of Alexandria, whoſe elements will ever be held in Geometry

Archimedes.

in the higheſt eſtimation, brought it to perfection about three hundred years before Jeſus Chriſt. Had Archimedes lived in our days, he would have been another Newton. The machines which he made uſe of againſt the Romans at the ſiege of Syracuſe were in his eye mere trifles, in compariſon of his ſcientific diſcoveries. Having declared, that if he had a fixed point out of this earth he could move it like another body, it was ſaid that he proved this extraordinary aſſertion, by moving one of the largeſt and heavy loaded galleys, by means of an inſtrument which he only touched. Rollin might have called in queſtion the truth of this experiment; but it cannot be doubted that Archimedes was a prodigy of genius. By the means of hydroſtatics he diſcovered the theft of a goldſmith, who had mixed ſome other metal with the gold he ought to have uſed in forming a crown which he had undertaken to make for king Hiero. The mirror which he invented to ſet on fire the fleet of Marcellus, was looked upon to be chimerical even in our days; but after ſeeing that of M. Buffon, the other can no longer be denied.

Aſtronomy. Thales.

Thales introduced aſtronomy into Greece. He made them acquainted with the motion of the ſun and moon, the ſolar year, the cauſe of eclipſes, and the Little Bear, which is a conſtellation of much importance to navigators.

Anaximander.

According to Pliny, the ſphere was invented by Anaximander, one of the ſcholars of Thales; or, according to Strabo, he was the inventor of maps, and brought ſun dials into uſe; but probably theſe inventions, which were claimed by the Greeks, came either from Egypt or Phœnicia. They acquired a knowledge of aſtronomy but very ſlowly: even Anaximander did not believe that the ſun was larger than Peloponneſus; and notwithſtanding the inſtructions of Thales, the year was computed, in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, only at three hundred and ſixty days. However, during the Peloponneſian war, Meto publiſhed at Athens his *Enneadecateris*, which we call the *golden number*; it is a cycle of nineteen years, at the end of which, the moon

Meto.

renews

renews her courſe with the ſun within an hour and ſome minutes.

Eudoxus and Pitheas.

Eudoxus, a diſciple of Plato, not finding ſufficient reſources for the ſtudy of aſtronomy at Athens, went to ſtudy in Egypt, from whence he brought the knowledge of the planets and the conſtellations. About the ſame time Pitheas of Marſeilles, a colony from Phocæa, made a famous obſervation on the ſhadow of the ſun during the ſolſtice, by which he aſcertained the latitude of his country: he ſailed from the Mediterranean ſea into the ocean, and advanced as far as Thule (Iceland) and then ſteered his courſe into the Baltic, till he came to the mouth of a river which he called Tanais, and which is probably the Viſtula. Having obſerved that the days became longer the farther he advanced to the north, during the ſummer ſolſtice, he fixed the difference of climates by the length of the days and nights.

Raſh opinion againſt natural facts

Strabo, and even Polybius, deny that Pitheas ever made theſe voyages, from a perſuaſion that thoſe climates, which he ſaid he had viſited, were uninhabitable. We ought to ſuſpend our judgment upon ſubjects of which we are ignorant. Herodotus could not help laughing (that is his own expreſſion) at thoſe people, who imagined that the earth was ſurrounded by the ocean: he could not be perſuaded that the ſailors of Nechos could have ſeen the ſun in a contrary poſition from that in which he is ſeen in Europe. Was not even the idea of Antipodes loudly denied ſeveral ages after his time? Have not they who gave credit to it, been taxed with madneſs and folly? Was not even the belief of that fact reckoned a hereſy?

Aſtronomical obſervations

It was by aſtronomical obſervations, that Ariſtotle came to know the ſize and figure of the earth: the roundneſs of its ſhade in the eclipſes of the moon; the inequalities of the meridional heights, according to the climates, ſhewed him that it was ſpherical. Alexandria having become the aſylum of the ſciences, Eratoſthenes was there in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, and made ſome new obſervations for meaſuring the circumference of

of the globe; and his cotemporary Hipparchus, in the ſame place, made a catalogue of the fixed ſtars, and diſcovered their particular revolution round the poles of the ecliptic. Pliny called Hipparchus *Nature's confidant*. It was not till the reign of Antoninus, that the celebrated Ptolemy gave a complete ſyſtem of aſtronomy.

Geography. Geography, which is connected with that ſcience, ſince aſtronomical obſervations ſerve to meaſure the earth, and to fix the ſituation of different places, could make but very ſlow progreſs, and only in proportion as countries were diſcovered and examined. What is very extraordinary, Homer knew more of geography than Herodotus; and in the time of Xerxes, the Greeks ſtill believed that it was as far from Egina to Samos, as to the pillars of Hercules; but navigation cleared up that doubt, and their knowledge was enlarged by means of commerce. This ſcience was greatly extended by the conqueſts of Alexander, and made ſtill further progreſs under his ſucceſſors. Strabo, in the time of Auguſtus, and Ptolemy after him, made vaſt improvements; and the laſt mentioned of the two dedicated his whole ſtudy to aſcertain the latitude and longitude, without which it is impoſſible to be exact.

Superiority of the moderns. The ancients were greatly inferiour to the moderns, on this ſubject, as well as in all the ſciences which require exact diſquiſition: their geography is very erroneous; but indeed how could it be otherwiſe, ſince M. Deliſle has proved by aſtronomical obſervations, that there are very many important miſtakes in the beſt modern maps? He has abridged Aſia no leſs than five hundred leagues; and the Mediterranean ſea from eaſt to weſt, three hundred leagues. It is wonderful how the ancients, with ſo few helps, could make ſuch prodigious progreſs; and how they became either aſtronomers or geographers, without teleſcopes, and without the Arabic figures. "They did," ſays the Marquis de l'Hopital, "what our men of genius would have done in the ſame "ſituation; and if they had lived in our time, we may "ſuppoſe, that they muſt have had the ſame views we "have." *Preface de l'Annal. des infiniment petits.* Some

Some writers have aſcribed to the ancients our moſt valuable diſcoveries. The Pythagoreans believed that the earth and the planets moved round the ſun. Empedocles, who according to a ridiculous tradition threw himſelf into the crater of Mount Etna, aſcribed the phenomenon of the Syphon, to the weight of the air, which keeps the water ſuſpended, while the orifice continues to be ſhut by the finger. The ſame philoſopher imagined a kind of power of attraction, very little different from that of Newton. Cicero and Seneca explained the ebbing and flowing of the ſea by the preſſure of the moon; but theſe were only conjectures without proof, and ſyſtems erected by gueſs. The honour of the moderns is, to have found the ſecrets of nature by obſervation. Modern diſcoveries aſcribed to the ancients.

SECT. III.

MEDICINE.

MEDICINE, in ſome degree neceſſary, rather from the faults of men than from any defect of nature, was, a ſhort time before the Peloponneſian war, nothing better than practiſing by rote, and confined to very narrow limits. From the age of Homer, in which undoubtedly neither ointments nor plaiſters were known, ſince he who ſpeaks of the ſmalleſt remedies makes no mention of them, we do not find that medicine was improved. If, as Celſus alledges, Pythagoras is ranked among the celebrated phyſicians, it muſt probably be owing to his vague reputation of being an univerſal genius. Herophilus, who lived five hundred and ſeventy years before Chriſt, ſeems to have acquired ſome knowledge. We are told that he obtained leave to diſſect alive thoſe criminals who were condemned to ſuffer death; and, if we may depend upon the authority of Tertullian, he diſſected no leſs than ſix hundred; but it is impoſſible to be believed. Medicine

Herodicus of Sicily, the maſter of the famous Hippocrates, was looked upon as the head of two ſects in medicine, Herodicus

dicine, which were called the *dietetic* and *gymnaſtic*, whoſe remedies depended upon diet, regimen, and bodily exerciſe. He therefore deſerved to be looked upon in a ſuperiour light to thoſe quacks, who before his time vended heaps of hurtful or uſeleſs preſcriptions.

Hippocrates. But at laſt came Hippocrates, who was born in the iſle of Cos, about four hundred and ſixty years before our era. If we were to queſtion the eminent ſervices which he rendered the Greeks during the plague of Athens, as mentioned by many hiſtorians, yet there is a ſufficient number of his works ſtill exiſting, and always eſteemed as maſter pieces, to ſerve for his encomium. He improved his knowledge, by collecting all the remarks of his predeceſſors, and was himſelf a better obſerver than any of them. He thought the moſt ſimple remedies the moſt effectual, and ſtill made as little uſe of them as poſſible. The ingenuous confeſſion which he made of ſome errours, and ſeveral uſeleſs remedies, prove how much he was ſuperiour to blind confidence, and that he eſteemed it his greateſt honour to be of uſe to the public. The celebrated Galen, who lived in the time of Marcus Aurelius, looked upon him as his maſter.

Different ſects in medicine. It is very unfortunate for mankind, that phyſicians as well as philoſophers have been divided into a variety of rival ſects, whoſe oppoſite principles lead to contrary practice. The words *empirics*, *dogmatics*, *methodics*, &c. which ſuppoſe a man ſo wedded to ſyſtem that he cannot ſee diſeaſes but through clouds of prejudice, muſt infallibly inſpire people with horrour. It was probably from thinking of ſuch people that Cato ſaid, *We ſhall be ruined if the Greeks ſend us their learning, but more eſpecially if they ſend us their phyſicians. They have vowed, that by the means of medicine they will kill all whom they call barbarians.* (Plin. l. xxix.)

Botany, anatomy, &c. Botany, indiſpenſably neceſſary to medicine, was ſtill in its infancy. Dioſcorides and Pliny ſcarcely knew ſix hundred plants; at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, more than ſix thouſand were known; and

ſince

ſince that time this ſcience is greatly improved, by the introduction of method. Medical chemiſtry is a modern ſcience, derived from the Arabs. It was only in the later ages that any improvement could be made in anatomy, when ſuperſtition no longer oppoſed the diſſection of human bodies; and by this means ſurgery and pharmacy, which at preſent are ſeparate ſtudies from phyſic, of which they formerly made a part, have acquired an aſtoniſhing degree of perfection, totally unknown to the ancients. But the bodily exerciſes, ſuch as wreſtling, playing quoit, horſe-racing, thoſe games wherein the Greeks were ſo anxious to diſtinguiſh themſelves; the military exerciſes, which made a part of the duty of every citizen; in a word, activity and ſobriety, were worth all other remedies.

Sect. IV.

Economics.

Economics much neglected

A ſcience of much importance to government, too little ſtudied by the Greeks, or at leaſt greatly neglected by their writers, is that of economy. We ſcarcely know any thing of their finances, how they were adminiſtered, their principles upon this ſubject, and a number of intereſting details, in themſelves more uſeful than the many with which their hiſtories have been ſwelled. Learned as the Athenians were, they always ſeem to have preferred the plauſible to the ſolid: their philoſophers, except a very few, employed their whole time in vague ſpeculations, and fine diſcourſes upon general ſubjects, and contemning that, which, if added to the laws and manners of the country, muſt be the foundation of happineſs to the people. The many ſyſtems on the origin of the world, and on the chief good, could neither make mankind more wiſe, nor ſtates more flouriſhing. Is the imaginary republic of Plato to be compared with ſome good precepts ſuited to common life, or on the government of kingdoms?

Xenophon

Economics of Xenophon.

Xenophon has left us two treatiſes; the one entitled, *Economics*; the other, *Of the Revenue*. The firſt treats of private economy; the ſecond, on the finances of Athens. Theſe valuable morſels, though written only ſuperficially, are well worthy of peruſal. The author highly praiſes domeſtic cares, particularly agriculture, and with great reaſon, though without conveying much inſtruction upon the ſubject; he does not even mention grafting. According to him, the art conſiſts in attending to the operations of nature; and he ſays, that the failure in the cultivation of land, is not owing to ignorance, but to idleneſs. This maxim, though in general true, muſt be falſe and pernicious, if it debarred people from making new attempts. Notwithſtanding the praiſe beſtowed on ancient cuſtoms, have they not been in many caſes uſefully corrected, and how much may they not be ſtill improved? It muſt be allowed at the ſame time, that induſtry will do more than every thing elſe; let us therefore promote the love of it, for the conveniences which it affords; it is the great ſecret of making the earth fertile.

His treatiſe on the revenue.

His treatiſe upon the means of increaſing the *revenue* of Attica is more curious, becauſe it preſents to our attention ſome things which are not ſo much known. Without repeating what I have ſaid elſewhere, I ſhall only lay before you ſome of his opinions which are worthy of a particular examination. He is chiefly attached to commerce, which is the natural reſource of a barren country. He inſiſts upon the eminent advantages Athens derived from its ſituation, which he greatly exaggerates, as he would have it conſidered not only as the centre of Greece, but of the univerſe. He very properly recommends to them to try every means of alluring ſtrangers to ſettle among them, for their induſtry and their wealth muſt bring certain advantages. Every foreigner paid a tax of twelve drachmæ. *Let us*, ſays Xenophon, *put them in a ſituation to love and ſerve us*.

To facilitate commerce.

He ſhews the neceſſity of lightening all the clogs of commerce, but more particularly to ſhorten lawſuits, which

which retard buſineſs, and keep ſtrangers at a diſtance. He propoſes to build market places, ſtorehouſes, and merchant ſhips, and ſhews the advantage which muſt be derived from ſuch proceedings; enterpriſes greatly ſuperiour to thoſe of luxury and ornament, which ſometimes bring on the ruin of nations.

The plenty of gold or ſilver.

On the ſubject of exploring mines, he maintains, *that ſilver does not reſemble the other productions of the earth, and that the great plenty of it does not lower its price; that gold, if it was to be in greater plenty than ſilver, would raiſe the price of ſilver, and lower its own.* The laſt propoſition is probable; but if the abundance of ſilver does not lower its price, does it not increaſe the price of commodities? does it not require more money to ſupport life? and is not that the ſame thing as if the price of ſilver was lowered?

Working of mines.

If we were to judge from this work of Xenophon, the Athenians were but indifferently acquainted with finances or political economy. Some individuals were made rich by working mines, while that valuable reſource was totally neglected by the ſtate; the author propoſes a method to reconcile the intereſt of individuals with that of the public. He prudently obſerves, that every thing ought not to be undertaken at once, and that in all enterpriſes the means ſhould be proportioned to the end; and the ſucceſs of a firſt trial makes a ſecond more eaſy, which in courſe promotes every ſucceeding attempt. He ſeems to be particularly fond of one chimerical idea; the erecting a body of magiſtrates, whoſe duty it ſhould be to preſerve a perpetual peace; but at the ſame time tells them, *that the moſt certain method of conquering their enemies, is to make none.* He concludes with adviſing them to conſult the oracles, to know whether heaven approves their projects, and what god they ſhould pray to for protection. Could it have been conceived that a philoſopher believed that oracles were neceſſary in any buſineſs relating to the finances? Undoubtedly he did this in compliance with the ſuperſtitious weakneſs of the people.

If

The theory of the finances more neceſſary at preſent.

If the Greeks formed no good theory upon this ſubject, with which modern nations are ſo much engaged, it is becauſe they had not ſo great reaſon for directing their attention to that object. Their wars were not ſo expenſive; which was owing to the troops commonly coming home at the end of a campaign, and to their armies being few in number, and ſeldom compoſed of mercenaries. Beſides, their fleet, which was the chief ſtrength of Athens, was of no great expenſe to the republic. By a law of Solon, the twelve hundred richeſt citizens were divided into ſeventy five companies of ſixteen, each of which provided a galley, to be alternately commanded by the ſixteen. As many diſputes aroſe about who were the richeſt, Demoſthenes procured another law to be paſſed, by which it was decreed, that every member of the ſtate, whoſe property amounted to ten talents, ſhould be obliged to equip one galley; two galleys, if he had twenty talents; and they whoſe fortunes did not amount to ten, ſhould join with others to defray that expenſe. Athens, with ſuch reſources, in caſe of neceſſity, by the help of induſtry and commerce, could ſupport herſelf without the economical ſcience of the moderns, to which her neighbours were equally ſtrangers. It was vice, and not the want of money, which brought on the ruin of that ſtate.

The Athenian fleet of little expenſe.

Law of Solon.

Another law by Demoſthenes

It ſeemed to me to be of conſequence to enter into theſe particulars, on purpoſe to ſhew the lengths which the human mind was capable of attaining, and the point at which its powers ſtopped, in a nation that was to inſtruct the miſtreſs of the world. Rome comes next to preſent another kind of view for our conſideration. Courage, poverty, virtue, and ambition, contributed all their powers to raiſe her to the higheſt pitch of worldly grandeur, before the arts and ſciences, entering in the train of riches, made her the rival of Athens—Athens, which was doomed to be her inſtructreſs, and to receive her laws.

END OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

Advertiſement.

THOUGH I begin the Modern Hiſtory at the time that the French monarchy was eſtabliſhed, which happenned near the end of the fifth century, yet the *Roman*, which makes the moſt eſſential part of the Ancient Hiſtory, compriſed in this work, does not conclude till the eſtabliſhment of Mahometiſm in the ſeventh century. I thought it was proper to follow the chain of events till that period from which the total declenſion of the Roman empire may be dated; which was greatly haſtened in the eaſt by the rapid conqueſts gained by the Arabs.

ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART THIRD.

ROMAN HISTORY.

Preliminary Obſervations.

Plan of this hiſtory.

AS the Roman hiſtory, if we may uſe the expreſſion, abſorbs that of all other nations, and introduces a long chain of actions which reach down to modern hiſtory, the better to note the continuation and connection of the principal events, we ſhall divide it into epochas, taking care, as far as poſſible, to diſtinguiſh each epocha, not only by ſome remarkable fact, but by an idea which has an affinity with the ſpace of time it comprehends.

The hiſtory of the early ages of Rome doubtful.

The early ages of Rome, like thoſe of other countries, are involved in darkneſs and uncertainty. Fabius Pictor, who was the firſt writer of Roman hiſtory, lived in the time of the ſecond Punic war, more than five hundred years after the foundation of the city. At a time when the minds of the people were blinded by ignorance, when ſuperſtition gave credit to every idle tale, when writing was an accompliſhment rarely to be met with, and when the memoirs of the prieſthood were only

ly records of miracles, what multitudes of fables ought we not to expect? Even theſe memoirs, if we truſt to the authority of Livy, were deſtroyed by the irruption of the Gauls, and from thence ſuch heaps of abſurd traditions, and wonders accumulated without the leaſt ſhadow of probability, were handed down by different hiſtorians; but Rome thought ſhe was of divine origin, and therefore adopted whatever tended to flatter theſe prejudices.

Notwithſtanding this uncertainty, there are ſome traditions which deſerve credit.

In the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres and Inſcriptions*, Vol. VI. may be read the diſſertations of Meſſrs. de Pouilly, and the Abbé Sallier, upon the hiſtory of the firſt four ages, wherein whatever is maintained by the one, is denied by the other. The conteſt between theſe two learned men ſeems to lead to Pyrrhoniſm; but the judicious obſerver will endeavour to find the medium, and reject whatever he thinks abſurd or incredible, without denying thoſe truths which he may find intermixed with fables. Except thoſe facts of which we ourſelves have been witneſſes, as M. Freret obſerves *(ibid.)* there is no certainty in hiſtory but what ariſes from the dependence we have upon the evidence of others, and therefore the whole is in ſome degree no better than tradition. Unwritten reports are certainly weaker than the other; yet the certainty of public and important events, which the memory of man is capable of eaſily retaining, may ſtill be preſerved. Should the improbable circumſtances, which are ſometimes added, for that reaſon deſtroy every truth? At this rate, we muſt diſbelieve all our cotemporaries who have related ſimilar wonders. Beſides, ſome memorials, from which the Roman hiſtorians derived their information, are ſtill ſubſiſting; but it is of importance for us to take nothing from their narrations, but what ought to be remembered.

Date of the foundation of Rome.

Our plan neceſſarily makes us avoid chronological diſcuſſions, which are an eternal ſubject of unintereſting diſputes. If the date of the foundation of Rome is uncertain, it varies only a few years. The moſt probable opinion fixes it at the beginning of the fourth year of

the ſixth Olympiad, ſeven hundred and fifty three years before Jeſus Chriſt, about a hundred and twenty years after the time when Lycurgus eſtabliſhed his laws, and a hundred and forty before the Athenians received thoſe of Solon; fourteen years before the era of Nabonaſſar, that time, as we formerly obſerved, in which the learned moderns fix the execution of the magnificent works at Babylon, that were aſcribed to Semiramis by the ancients. It is a common cuſtom to give both the date of the year of Rome and of the year before the Chriſtian era; but, to prevent the confuſion of figures, I ſhall only give the firſt, which it is eaſy to connect with the ſecond, by ſubtracting from 753 the number which expreſſes the date of Rome.

FIRST EPOCHA.

The Foundation of Rome.

THE KINGS.

A ſpace of two hundred and forty four years.

ROMULUS.

Year of Rome 1. Romulus, captain of a band of robbers, the founder of Rome.

NOTWITHSTANDING the greatneſs at which Rome arrived, the Romans were infected with that contemptible vanity, the diſgrace of other ancient nations, which made them introduce ſomething wonderful into the hiſtory of their origin. They were deſirous to have it believed, that they were the deſcendants of Æneas; that the god Mars was the father of Romulus, the founder of their city; and that he was miraculouſly ſuckled by a ſhe wolf. Amidſt theſe abſurdities, we can trace Romulus at the head of a numerous banditti, the murderer of his brother, building huts in a part

part of the territory of the city of Alba, and, with the aſſiſtance of about three thouſand men, laying the foundation of a ſtate which was afterwards to ſwallow up the moſt powerful kingdoms. We find him increaſing the number of his ſubjects by offering an aſylum to thieves and robbers, and every kind of profligate who was willing to ſubmit to his power. The Sabines refuſed to let them have women for the purpoſe of population; he therefore inſtituted games that he might ſeduce them into his city, and by force of arms ſeized upon their daughters to have wives for his ſoldiers. If we trace back moſt empires to their ſource, we ſhall find the ſame kind of robberies and violence.

Policy of Romulus, & ſcheme of his government

If Romulus had been nothing more than an enterpriſing adventurer, undoubtedly the neighbouring people would have deſtroyed his city in its infancy: but he had political views; and it was by eſtabliſhing good laws, as well as by the power of his arms, that he accompliſhed his purpoſe. From its origin, the government of Rome affords a ſubject worthy of the moſt ſerious attention. Agreeably to the character and cuſtoms of all uncivilized people, it was a mixed monarchy, in which the choice of a king did not limit the freedom of the people. Romulus, when elected to that dignity, was convinced that the people would not remain in ſubjection, and that they muſt either have a ſhare in the government, or that he himſelf muſt renounce it altogether; he therefore divided his colony into three tribes, and each tribe into ten curiæ. He then divided the lands into three unequal portions: the firſt was for the ſupport of religion; the next, for the wants of the ſtate; and the third for the citizens, to each of whom was given two *jugera** of land. In the next place, he eſtabliſhed a ſenate, compoſed of a hundred perſons; whoſe duty it was, to ſee that the laws were obſerved; to deliberate upon affairs of importance; and to report theſe deliberations to the comitia, or aſſemblies of the

Diviſion of the people into three tribes.

The eſtabliſhing a ſenate.

* The jugerum contained two roods, 18 poles, 25,005 feet Engliſh ſquare meaſure, ſomething more than half an acre.

The three powers.

people, to whom the ſupreme power of deciding belonged; yet it was neceſſary that their deciſions ſhould be approved by the ſenate. The command of the army, the convocation of the comitia and ſenate, the judging of the moſt important cauſes, and the dignity of ſovereign pontiff, belonged to the king.

Romulus dexterouſly preſerved a great ſhare of power in his own hands.

By this mixing of three powers, Romulus knew how to pleaſe the people, and at the ſame time to gratify his own ambition. As the members were of his own choice, he could eaſily command the ſenate; and to keep the people in dependence, the military power, the religion, and the diſtribution of juſtice, were retained in his own hands; and though he gave up to them the chief powers of ſovereignty, the making laws, and chooſing magiſtrates, the determining peace or war, he ſo preſerved the means of directing their votes, that in fact he was entire maſter of every thing. Twelve lictors were appointed as a guard to his perſon, which is an uſeful appendage of royalty; to whom he afterwards added a military corps, conſiſting of three hundred men, whoſe duty it was to fight either on foot or horſeback. This was the origin of the knights, at firſt called *celeres*.

Roman knights.

Patrons & clients an excellent inſtitution

To prevent diſſenſions between the ſenate and people, Romulus made a law, at leaſt it has been aſcribed with many other things to him, which greatly contributed to the proſperity of Rome. Every plebeian was allowed to chooſe one of the ſenators as his patron; and their reciprocal duties united the patrons and the clients. The ſenator protected his clients, who in their turn ſupported him in caſes of neceſſity; and theſe ties of humanity inſpired the whole with a love of concord and moderation; ſo that, during the firſt troubles which were excited by the jealouſy of the different ranks after the eſtabliſhment of the republic, there was no ſhedding of blood. The union of the citizens is the beſt ſecurity for the happineſs of ſociety; but if the lower people are regarded in the eyes of the great as little better than nothing, the multitude will be either oppreſſed or rebellious.

Uncivilized

Uncivilized nations have but few laws, and even thoſe few are tinctured with barbarity; of which I ſhall quote only two inſtances in the laws of Romulus. The firſt gave leave to huſbands to divorce their wives, and even to put them to death, not only for being guilty of great crimes, but for having drank wine: the women, on the contrary, were prohibited from withdrawing from their huſbands upon any pretence whatever. The ſecond made fathers abſolute over their children; they might ſell them, even to the third time, and at any age; what was ſtill more, they might put them to death; and, provided they took the opinion of five neighbours, they might expoſe children who were born exceſſively deformed; nor did the law compel them to take care of their younger daughters.

Barbarous laws in favour of huſbands & fathers.

The principal objects which engaged the attention of Romulus were, to procure people and territories. He is looked upon by many as the author of the Roman policy, which was always attentive either to form new alliances, or to gain conqueſts, on purpoſe to improve and ſtrengthen the ſtate. He chiefly attended to the carrying on war, either with a view of aggrandizing himſelf, or to employ the attention of his unruly ſubjects upon diſtant objects.

Two views of Romulus to gain territories & ſubjects.

Italy, like ancient Greece, was at that time divided into a number of petty ſtates, compoſed of people, who in nothing reſembled one another, but a ferocious courage. In the courſe of a long ſpace of time, Rome went to war with all of them in ſucceſſion. By reflecting upon their origin, it muſt be evident that neither the ſieges nor battles in which they were then engaged, whatever might be the future conſequences, could deſerve thoſe pompous deſcriptions that have been handed down to us by ſome hiſtorians.

The firſt wars of the Romans not deſerving particular deſcription.

It was againſt the Sabines that the proweſs of this new colony was firſt employed. They formed a kind of confederate republic, that their united forces might appear formidable; yet however ſome of their towns were obliged to ſubmit; but one of their princes, Tatius

Year of Rome 8. Tatius, king of the Sabines, the colleague of Romulus.

tius king of Curæ, penetrated even into Rome, and probably would have deſtroyed it, if the Sabine women who had been carried off by the Romans had not procured a peace to be concluded between their huſbands and their parents. From that time, the two ſtates were united at the expenſe of the power of Romulus, who was obliged to give Tatius an equal ſhare of the royalty, and to admit a hundred of the principal Sabines into the ſenate. His colleague being aſſaſſinated about ſix years after the union, he ſo managed matters that no ſucceſſor was appointed.

Romulus aſſaſſinated by the Senators.

After a ſeries of victories, which produced an increaſe of inhabitants by always admitting the vanquiſhed to be of their number, the king, depending upon the affection of his ſoldiers, and reckoning forty ſeven thouſand ſubjects, gave himſelf up too much to his love of dominion, and wanted to govern without the help of the ſenate: the ſenators therefore conſpired againſt him, and cauſed him to be privately aſſaſſinated; but to conceal the deed, they gave out that Romulus was carried up into heaven; and from that time, during an interregnum which continued a year, they alternately exerciſed the royal authority; Romulus having reigned thirty ſeven years.

NUMA.

Year of Rome 38. Numa Pompilius choſen king.

The people, tired with obeying ſo many kings, at laſt conſtrained the ſenate to come to an election. That body being compoſed equally of Romans and Sabines, both parties contended for the ſovereignty; but to accommodate matters it was agreed that the Romans ſhould chooſe, and that their choice ſhould fall upon a Sabine. Numa Pompilius, who lived a retired life in the country, and was by no means ſolicitous of honours, appeared to them to be the man, either the moſt capable of governing, or the leaſt calculated to inſpire the people with dread of his command. He was therefore choſen, and unwillingly accepted a power which he much

much leſs valued than dedicating his time to the ſtudy of wiſdom. We cannot conceive from whence he could have derived this taſte for philoſophy.

Numa was as great a lover of peace as Romulus had been of war. He imagined that it was right to ſoften the manners of an intractable people, who, not being as yet corrupted, were in the beſt ſtate for receiving benefit from the introduction of a good body of laws. When manners are formed by the laws, they in ſome degree tend to ſupport what gave them birth; their reciprocal influence was the glory of Sparta; Rome likewiſe felt the benefit, and from that cauſe chiefly did ſhe become entitled to the higheſt encomiums.

Numa preſerves peace, that he may form the manners of the nation.

Reciprocal influence of laws and manners.

Piety, and the art of governing, two qualities rarely to be met with in one perſon, were found united in Numa, both of them equally proving the rule of his conduct. He made it believed that he was inſpired, pretending that he had frequent conferences with the nymph Egeria; and by this artifice infuſed thoſe ſentiments of religion into the minds of the people with which he himſelf was affected. The new king made uſe of religion, as the chief inſtrument by which he ſubjected the inflexible character of the Romans to a ſenſe of their duty. He took care to have a dread of the inviſible Being, who ſees and puniſhes offences, deeply engraven upon their hearts. To render promiſes ſacred, he erected an altar to *Honeſty*; and that the boundaries of the people's poſſeſſions might be inviolable, he eſtabliſhed a feſtival in honour of the god *Terminus*. He inſtituted religious ceremonies, becauſe at the foot of the altars the hearts of men become united, and without them the divinity makes but ſlender impreſſion upon the minds of the vulgar. He divided the prieſts into ſeveral claſſes, the chief of which was that of the pontiffs. The grand pontiff preſided univerſally, and this important office, being one of the main hinges of government, belonged to the ſovereign.

He attaches himſelf to religion.

Religious inſtitutions.

According to the conjecture of a modern author (Pelloutier's hiſtory of the Celtæ), the Romans were a mixture

The firſt religion of the Romans probably Celtic.

mixture of Sabines, Latins, and Tuſcans, all of whom were of Celtic origin, and therefore their firſt religion was probably Celtic, very different from what it became afterwards by the introduction of the Greek deities into Rome, in oppoſition to a law of Romulus, which forbid the admiſſion of ſtrange gods. The Celtæ had no images, and, according to Plutarch, the Romans had none till a hundred and ſixty years after the foundation of the city. The Celtæ honoured fire, and applied to the art of augury; accordingly, in the time of Numa, we find the Romans attending to augury, and a temple erected to the goddeſs Veſta, and veſtals eſtabliſhed for preſerving the ſacred fire. This inſtitution of virgins conſecrated to the religious ſervices is the more remarkable, as the obligation to preſerve their virginity, though not ſhut up in cloiſters, could not be violated, but at the riſk of their being buried alive. Theſe virgins were highly reſpected, and though free to marry after thirty years ſervice in the temple, they commonly preferred the honour of the prieſthood, which muſt have either been owing to the conſtraint being ſoftened by habit, or to their having by that time paſſed the age of pleaſures, or that they were attached to the altar from motives of ambition, or a love of piety. There were never more than ſix veſtals.

Inſtitution of veſtals.

The Feciales.

The eſtabliſhment of the *Feciales*, an order of prieſts, whoſe duty it was to decide upon the juſtice of going to war, and to watch over the faithful obſervance of treaties of peace, was a moſt uſeful inſtitution likewiſe aſcribed to Numa. They declared war, by calling heaven to witneſs the injuſtice of their enemies, and pronouncing imprecations againſt Rome, if ſhe had been guilty of an act of injuſtice to the enemy; which was a moſt needful reſtraint upon the minds of a warlike, ambitious people. Varro takes notice, that the Romans looked upon war with an eye of piety, and therefore never entered into it but with the moſt calm deliberation and temper. But did not a ſecret thirſt of conqueſt make them colour over numberleſs inſtances

War clothed with the ſemblance of religion.

of

of injuſtice? We ſhall ſee them diſplay their character in time, and, reſting upon motives of religion, or the pretence of it, look upon the whole world as a prey deſtined for them by heaven. The moſt religious men are eaſily ſeduced by intereſt, which often makes religion the inſtrument of accompliſhing their iniquitous purpoſes.

Numa inſpires a love of agriculture

Numa likewiſe introduced agriculture, as a ſource of virtue and happineſs to his people, and for that purpoſe diſtributed among them the lands, of which a conqueſt had been made in the former reign. He erected villages, where the huſbandmen were employed in uſeful labours, and appointed inſpectors to reward induſtry and puniſh idleneſs; it was by this means that agriculture became ſuch a reſpectable employment among the Romans. The firſt men of Rome found their greateſt pleaſure in rural purſuits, and the ſtate was never in a more glorious ſituation, than when they returned to the plough immediately after a triumph.

Trades were incorporated to unite the Romans & Sabines

A national jealouſy between the Romans and Sabines left the ſeeds of variance in the city; but it is ſaid that Numa found means for their being deſtroyed. The people being divided into bodies of different profeſſions, and into communities, which had each their diſtinct privileges, they forgot all difference of country, and from that time were only attached to their particular claſs, with this advantage over the ſame arrangement in Egypt, that the claſſes were not ſeparated ſo as either to occaſion averſion, or to ſtifle riſing genius.

New calendar.

Numa likewiſe had the honour of introducing ſcience for the public advantage. The year, in the time of Romulus, conſiſted only of ten months; but he ſubſtituted the lunar year of twelve months, which by intercalations he brought near to the ſolar. This is what has been advanced by hiſtorians, but I cannot conceive from whence he derived ſo much knowledge amidſt an uncivilized people. The Athenians had ſcarcely any idea of aſtronomy, but here we find a Sabine aſtronomer.

A law which allowed husbands to lend their wives.

A very extraordinary law, which gave leave to husbands to lend their wives, after having had children by them, was aſcribed to Numa. It was a cuſtom in Sparta, perfectly conſiſtent with the purity of morals which ſubſiſted at that time, becauſe their ſole purpoſe was to procure good citizens for the ſtate, without being acquainted with thoſe ſublime ideas of marriage, which we have derived from religion.

The death of Numa.

Numa died after a peaceable reign of forty three years. The wiſdom of his laws, and the knowledge which he had of a Supreme Being, made him be looked upon as a diſciple of Pythagoras, though that philoſopher did not appear till the reign of the laſt Tarquin.

His books upon religion were burnt a long time after by order of the ſenate

In the year of Rome five hundred and ſeventy two, ſome books of Numa were found in a cheſt, which contained his religious ſentiments. Petillius the prætor, having read them, declared to the ſenate that they were dangerous, becauſe they did not agree with the eſtabliſhed religion: upon which the ſenate ordered them to be burnt. Suppoſing this to be a fact, it is a proof that ſuperſtition had changed the religion of the firſt Romans, and was ſupported by the nobles from views of intereſt.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Year of Rome 83. Tullus Hoſtilius.

Tullus Hoſtilius was choſen to ſucceed Numa, and began his reign with dividing a part of the royal domain among thoſe who had no lands; and having thus gained the hearts of the people, he revived their military ardour, which ſo long a peace could not extinguiſh.

Alban war

The jealouſy of the Albans, who contended with Rome for pre-eminence, lighted up the flame of war, which they agreed to decide by a very extraordinary combat

Horatii & Curiatii.

of three champions named by each party. On the Roman ſide, one of the Horatii, having conquered three Curiatii, determined the ſuperiority in favour of his country. The ſtory of his having killed his ſiſter, who bewailed the death of one of the Curiatii, her intended huſband, is well known. Tullus cauſed him to be tried

by

by two commiſſioners, and adviſed him to appeal to the people from their ſentence. Thus the people were acknowledged to be the ultimate judges.

The manner in which Livy has deſcribed theſe events, and the fine ſpeeches he has embelliſhed them with, make the whole appear rather a compoſition of fancy than a genuine hiſtory. That admirable writer, in handling the traditions of antiquity, like the Greeks, gave ample ſcope to his imagination, and has been too cloſely imitated both by Rollin and other modern authors. Is it reaſonable to expect, that orations, compoſed with ſo much ſkill, were to be found in the boſom of barbarity? Even the combat of the ſix champions is much to be doubted, and ſeems to be copied from the Greek hiſtory.

Livy deſerves to be criticiſed.

Suffetius, the Alban general, being found guilty of treachery, was torn in pieces by order of Tullus. The city of Alba, which was ſaid to have laſted five hundred years, was totally deſtroyed in one hour, and the inhabitants tranſplanted to Rome, where the principal of them were admitted into the ſenate; and the lands became part of the Roman territories. Tullus defeated all his neighbours who ventured to take up arms againſt him; but during the havoc of a dreadful plague, he could not reſiſt the attacks of ſuperſtition, which is commonly the effect of fear. Some authors ſeriouſly report, that Jupiter ſtruck him with lightning while he was performing ſome magical rites; but it is ſuppoſed that he was aſſaſſinated.

Alba deſtroyed.

Death of Tullus.

ANCUS MARTIUS.

Ancus Martius, the grandſon of Numa by his mother, received the crown from the united voice of the ſenate and people. He ſhewed himſelf the worthy deſcendant of his grandfather, to whoſe eminent virtues he added the courage of Romulus. His firſt attention was directed to the care of religion and agriculture. The Latins, conſidering him as a weak prince, treated him with contempt, and committed ſome hoſtilities which interrupted

Year of Rome 113 Ancus Martius.

War declared against the Latins.

rupted his pacific purſuits; he therefore ſent to demand ſatisfaction, which being refuſed, war was declared against them by the *fecialis*, in the name of the people, and by the following form, in which the king is not mentioned: *Becauſe of the injury done by the Latins to the people of Rome, the Roman people and I declare war againſt the Latins—and now we begin.* At theſe words the fecialis threw a javelin, ſteeped in blood, into the territories of the enemy. Ancus acquired honour, and Rome advantage, by this war, and ſome others which followed.

The form uſed by the Fecialis.

Nothing does ſo much honour to a warlike prince, as, immediately after victory, engaging in purſuits which are of importance to the good of the people. Independent of his exploits in arms, the works of Ancus were ſufficient to have rendered his name immortal. He added Mount Aventine and Mount Janiculum, which were formerly in the Tuſcan territories, to the encloſure of the city, which till that time did not extend beyond Mount Palatine; and built a bridge over the Tiber, to preſerve the communication between the city and the Janiculum. He likewiſe built the port of Oſtia, at the mouth of the river; and cauſed ſalt pits to be dug upon the ſea ſhore, diſtributing a great part of the ſalt which was got from them among the people. (Similar diſtributions of corn, oil, &c. which were called *congiaria*, afterwards became a common practice, and introduced abuſes, which we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in another place.) He built a priſon, which licentiouſneſs, the natural conſequence of an increaſe of inhabitants, made neceſſary. This prince died after a glorious reign of twenty four years.

Uſeful works by Ancus.

Port of Oſtia, ſalt pits, &c.

TARQUIN THE ELDER.

Year of Rome 137 Tarquin the Elder canvaſſes for & obtains the crown.

Tarquin, ſurnamed the Elder, the fifth king of Rome, acquired the crown by means of canvaſſing among the people, which was a practice till his time totally unknown. He was the ſon of a rich merchant of Corinth, was born at Tarquinii in Tuſcany, and ſettled in Rome, from an expectation that his being a foreigner would

would be no obſtruction to his deſire of obtaining honours; for which purpoſe he changed his name of Lucumo into that of Tarquinius, borrowed from the place of his nativity. Subſtantial merit, ſupported by wealth and ſkilful policy, with the favour of Ancus, procured for him a place in the ſenate. Ancus, when dying, appointed him tutor to his two ſons, the eldeſt of whom was not as yet fifteen years old. Though the crown was not hereditary, yet reſpect for the laſt king might have determined the ſuffrages of the people in favour of his family; but Tarquin, without having the leaſt regard for his pupils, openly ſolicited for the ſovereignty, and gained ſuch influence over the minds of the people, that, either by perſuaſion, or ſome other means, they ordered him *to take charge of public affairs*, that is to ſay, made him king.

He increaſes the number of ſenators, & builds a circus.

To increaſe his influence in the ſenate, as well as to reward his party, he created a hundred new ſenators from the plebeian families *(patres minorum gentium.)* He ſtill more gained the populace, by building a circus for public games, after the model of the Greeks. All people love ſhows, and we may be ſecure of pleaſing them, by contributing to their amuſement.

The number of citizens increaſed by his victories.

The Latins, the Tuſcans, and the Sabines, who always quarrelled with Rome, but did not think of acting in conjunction, ſucceſſively felt the effects of the valour of the new king. He knew how to improve his victories, by incorporating the conquered people with the citizens of Rome, as had been the practice of his predeceſſors.

Triumphs introduced.

He likewiſe inſtituted the pompous ceremony of a triumph, which became a powerful incentive to emulation, though to him it was only a means of procuring reſpect to his perſon.

Buildings by Tarquin.

Thoſe ideas of the grand, which are ſo calculated to produce noble effects, had already ſprung up at Rome, and the works of Tarquin were prodigies of excellence in a barbarous age. He conſtructed ſuperb aqueducts and common ſewers, piercing through rocks and hills for the convenience of the city. They who judge of the

the merit of works by their uſefulneſs, will value the ſewers of Rome much more than the pompous edifices of Pericles. A waggon loaded with hay could paſs under the vault; and eight hundred years after they were conſtructed, Pliny takes notice of them as objects worthy of admiration. Tarquin likewiſe built temples, halls for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſchools for the education of youth. He levelled the top of the Tarpeian rock, whereon was afterwards erected the capitol.

Fable of the augur Nævius.

Superſtition muſt have had an incredible influence, even over intelligent minds, ſince Livy, amidſt an account of events deſerving a place in hiſtory, introduces the ſtory of a flint being cut through with a razor, by Accius Nævius the augur, to ſhew that his art was divine. Cicero, though himſelf an augur, laughs at this ridiculous tradition. Rollin obſerves, that St. Auguſtin was inclined to believe it; but the virtuous Rollin might have added, that that was no reaſon to procure it credit, and that the power of a demon might have interpoſed. A ſtatue having been erected to Nævius only ſerves to prove, that the people were deceived by ſome appearance of a prodigy, that they had given credit to a fable, and that ſome men in power had a purpoſe to ſerve by getting the memory of it preſerved.

The ſuperſtitions of Tuſcany and Greece introduced by Tarquin.

The art of foretelling future events by the flight of birds, or ſome ſuch circumſtances, which can have no connection with futurity, that art of the Tuſcans, more ſenſeleſs than judicial aſtrology, became one of the great ſprings of government at Rome, and one of the chains by which they led the people. Tarquin I. of Greek origin, and a Tuſcan by birth, probably introduced the Grecian and Tuſcan ſuperſtitions, becauſe he thought they might be uſeful to him in carrying on his ſchemes of government. The ſimple religion of Numa was greatly changed during this reign, when foreign deities were admitted.

He is aſſaſſinated.

This monarch died at the age of fourſcore, having been

been aſſaſſinated by the ſons of Ancus Martius, who were provoked at ſeeing him pave the way for his ſon in law Servius Tullius to the ſucceſſion; but his death was artfully concealed by his wife Tanaquil, until ſhe had ſecured the crown to Servius. He was a Latin whoſe mother was brought captive to Rome, and was educated by the late king with paternal tenderneſs.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Year of Rome 175 Servius Tullius takes poſſeſſion of the throne and gains the people

Servius having aſſumed the power without the conſent of either ſenate or people, whatever merit he might have in other reſpects, it was impoſſible for him to hope that he could reign in peace over a free people, if he did not by ſome method ſupply the want of a legal claim to royalty. By paying the debts of the poor, dividing among them the lands which had been taken poſſeſſion of by ſome of the citizens, and leſſening the diſtance between the patricians and plebeians, he gained the people to his intereſt, which having accompliſhed, he publicly complained of a conſpiracy being formed againſt his life by the patricians,* and therefore deſired, as he was ready to relinquiſh the throne, that they would elect a new king. The people with heſitation determined in his favour.

New wars

Following the example of Tarquin, he erected temples to ſuperſtition, and gained new conqueſts from his neighbours. Theſe little republics imagined that the treaties into which they entered with one king, did not bind them to his ſucceſſor; and, irritated by hatred and jealouſy, commenced hoſtilities. Thus new quarrels were perpetually produced, that ſerved to exerciſe the Roman courage, and to increaſe the power of the ſtate by new acquiſitions, either of people or territory.

Servius attempts ſome uſeful innovations.

Though Servius was ambitious, he ſeemed to dedicate himſelf entirely to the good of the public. His reign produced ſome ſalutary changes which the ſtate very much wanted. The Romans were of a different opinion

* The ſenators were called Fathers *(Patres)* from whence the name of Patrician was derived, by which the nobility of Rome were diſtinguiſhed.

opinion from ſome other nations, who imagined that they ought not to make any alterations in government, or to change eſtabliſhed cuſtoms; accordingly, they were in a great meaſure indebted for their proſperity to innovations, which would have enraged the Egyptians, and ſome enthuſiaſtic poiloſophers. One of the chief duties of good government, is to reform abuſes with prudence; and enough will be every where found to require reformation.

Two abuſes to be reformed.

There were two of very great conſequence in Rome. The taxes were paid by the head, and though there were no longer any remains of the ancient equality of fortune, yet the taxes were continued equal, to the advantage of the rich, and the great oppreſſion of the poor. On the other hand, from the rich having only their ſingle vote in the public aſſemblies, where every thing was determined by the majority, the moſt important affairs of the ſtate fell into the hands of the multitude, who were eaſily heated and miſled, and therefore apt to run into the exceſſes of Athenian democracy: Servius undertook to extirpate this double ſource of diſorders, and ſucceeded.

The equal poll tax, and the ſuperiority of the common people in the public aſſemblies

A power given to the king to execute his plan of reformation.

The firſt ſtep which he took, was to ſhew the public aſſembly of the people, the great grievances derived from the common mode of impoſing the taxes, and the neceſſity of their being laid on in proportion to the property of individuals. The people, being flattered with the hopes of relief, gave him a power of ſettling ſuch a plan of reformation as he judged proper. This plan, which we are about to ſee put in execution, has an intimate connexion with hiſtory.

Country and city tribes.

The inhabitants of the city were divided into four tribes, anſwering to the different quarters; and thoſe of the country into fifteen, to which numbers were afterwards added, ſo as to make them in all thirty five. Each of them had their *curiæ*, almoſt like our pariſhes, and the prieſt was called the *Curio*, ſo that by this method there was no difficulty in aſcertaining the number of inhabitants, and at that time they could reckon four-

This arrangement facilitates the cenſus.

ſcore

ſcore thouſand citizens able to carry arms. A ſtrict command to give a faithful account of all property, procured every information that the king wanted, in order to complete his project.

The whole Roman people was next formed into ſix claſſes, which were afterwards ſubdivided into centuries. The firſt claſs conſiſted of the rich, whoſe property amounted at leaſt to ten thouſand drachmæ, or a hundred thouſand *aſſes* of braſs, by which the Romans reckoned at that time. It conſiſted of ninety eight centuries, among whom eighteen were knights provided with horſes at the public expenſe. The money neceſſary for this purpoſe was levied upon the widows, who till that time were free from taxes. The next four claſſes were in proportion to their property, and made in all ninety five centuries. The ſixth claſs was compoſed of the poor, which, though it was the moſt numerous, made but one century. Its members were called *proletarii*, becauſe their ſervices conſiſted in rearing children for the nation; and *capite cenſi*, becauſe they only made up the number, paid no taxes, nor were obliged like the reſt to go to war.

The people divided into ſix claſſes and the claſſes into centuries.

A very important effect was produced by this new diviſion, for from this time the votes were taken by the centuries in the public aſſemblies, and no longer ſingly; ſo that though the laſt claſs preſerved a right to vote, they in fact had no influence in the public deliberations; and the firſt, on the contrary, while they continued unanimous, alone determined every thing. This was an advantage which the firſt claſs obtained by means of their money, and the men which they provided for the ſervice of the ſtate, each century being obliged to raiſe a certain ſum, and a fixed number of men for the army. But was it juſt to leave the public deliberations entirely in the hands of the rich? The conſequences will enable us to judge.

The firſt claſs ruled in the public aſſemblies.

The young and the old were diſtinguiſhed in all the claſſes but the laſt. "That is," ſays the celebrated Rouſſeau of Geneva, "the populace, of which it was

The laſt claſs excluded from the army.

"compoſed, were not allowed the honour of bearing "arms in the ſervice of their country; and to be enti- "tled to defend it, they muſt have been poſſeſſed of a "home; ſo that of the innumerable crowds of beggars, "that ſhine at preſent in the armies of kings, there is "perhaps ſcarce one who would not have been driven "with diſdain from a Roman cohort, at the time that "ſoldiers were the ſupporters of liberty." *(Contr. ſocial. lib.* 4.) Here, as well as in other places, our Genevan greatly exaggerates; but there is no queſtion that a man will be animated with more courage in the defence of his own property, than when fighting for the property or pretenſions of another. Xenophon judiciouſly aſks, *If property does not inſpire the poſſeſſor with courage?*

The cenſus and luſtrum.

Servius, foreſeeing that the fortunes of men were expoſed to a thouſand accidents, and that many of the people might thereby very ſoon be placed in wrong claſſes, paſſed a law, which made it neceſſary to renew the cenſus every fifth year, accompanied with a ceremony, which procured it the name of *luſtrum*; and the *luſtra* became a meaſure of time, by which the Romans reckoned in the ſame manner as the Greeks did by olympiads.

The hard condition of the ſlaves mitigated.

The condition of the Roman ſlaves could not fail to excite the compaſſion of a good prince, and Servius ſoftened its rigour like a ſkilful politician. Notwithſtanding the barbariſm of the times, he was ſenſible how terrible was that ſituation which rendered ſlavery hereditary, and made it impoſſible for humanity ever to recover its rights; and that reducing ſlaves to deſpair, naturally inſpired them with hatred againſt their maſters, while it was eaſy to attach them to the ſtate, by giving them hopes of being one day admitted members. Affected by theſe reaſons, which the ſenate could with difficulty reliſh, he not only permitted ſlaves to be made free, but likewiſe the freed men to be incorporated as members of the ſtate. The appellation of freed men, which was continued to them, could not fail to recal humiliating

Freed men admitted as members of the ſtate.

ideas

ideas to their remembrance; but ſtill it was a great happineſs to eſcape from a ſervile condition, and the more ſo, as the Romans ſcarcely treated their ſlaves better than if they had been beaſts of burden. They were admitted only into the four city tribes, which were the leaſt honourable of the whole.

Servius calms the animoſity of the Sabines and the Latins

The higheſt encomiums are likewiſe due to Servius for another ſcheme, which he put in execution. Though the Sabines and Latins had been united to the Roman government both by force of arms and treaties, yet their animoſity againſt a people who had riſen upon their ruins could not be extinguiſhed. The king, on purpoſe to confirm the peace, of which he earneſtly repreſented the great advantages, perſuaded them to build a temple in honour of Diana at Rome, where they might every year ſacrifice in common; that they ſhould meet immediately after the ſacrifice to bring all diſputes to an amicable concluſion, and to conſult upon the beſt methods of preſerving friendſhip and harmony; after which a great market ſhould be opened, when every one might purchaſe ſuch commodities as he wanted. Here, religion, friendly conferences, and commercial advantages, united with the ſtate of the times, to make theſe ſtrangers ſo many Romans, by which they profited at leaſt as much as Rome. Though the terms of the treaty were in the Latin language, yet they were engraven upon a pillar in Greek characters; and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, who alledges that the Romans were of Greek origin, does not fail to adduce this as a proof. But would not ſuch authority ſerve to prove that the Goths, Franks and Lombards were deſcended from Rome, as they all make uſe of the Roman characters?

Treaty in the Latin language, and in Greek characters

Aſſaſſination of Servius.

We are told, that while Servius was ſacrificing every thing for the good of the public, and propoſed to lay down his crown on purpoſe to eſtabliſh a republican government, he was taken from his ſubjects by a moſt atrocious deed. His daughter Tullia, a monſter of cruelty and ambition, had been married to Tarquin the grandſon of the king of the ſame name, and both huſ-

band and wife undertook to dethrone Servius. The conſpiracy ended with the murder of the king, whoſe execrable daughter drove her chariot over his dead body. Of ſix kings of Rome, all deſerving the higheſt encomiums, we ſee four dying violent deaths.

TARQUIN THE PROUD.

Year of Rome 219. Tarquin the proud. His tyranny.

It was not to be expected but that Tarquin, ſtained with the blood of the late king, and uſurping his throne without applying either to the ſenate or people, muſt reign like a tyrant. The laws were forced to give way to violence and injuſtice; but, like a ſkilful tyrant, he neglected no means which could be employed to confirm and extend his power. Oppreſſion could not fail to make him deteſted by the citizens; he therefore endeavoured to find his ſecurity in the army, and gained a part of the ſoldiers by gentleneſs and acts of kindneſs. A numerous guard of foreigners watched for the ſecurity of his perſon, while informations and ſevere puniſhments ſpread univerſal terrour, at a time when the aſſemblies of the people, ſuſpended by edicts, left no reſource againſt the progreſs of tyranny.

How he reduced the Gabians.

The following celebrated anecdote may ſerve to give an idea of the policy of Tarquin. A number of the patricians having taken ſhelter in Gabii, a city of the Latins, they ſtirred up the inhabitants to riſe in rebellion againſt him. His ſon Sextus, whoſe proceedings he directed, upon ſome feigned quarrel pretended to betray him, and for that purpoſe retired to Gabii, where he played his part ſo well, that he obtained the command of their army, and then ſent to his father for his inſtructions. Tarquin, being unwilling to explain himſelf either by word of mouth or by writing, conducted the meſſenger into the garden, where he cut off the heads of the talleſt poppies, and then allowed him to depart without any other anſwer. Sextus conceived the meaning of the enigma; and, putting to death the principal inhabitants, delivered up the city to his father.

The

His victories add to his power.

The tyrant added valour to his cruelty, and overcame all his enemies. The ſenate were without power, and the deſponding people bore the yoke without daring to complain; ſo that Rome ſeemed to be reduced to that ſtate of languor and oppreſſion where the ſlavery of nations uſually begins.

The books of the Sybils uſeful to keep the people in ſubjection

A political fraud (for it is ſcarce poſſible to form any other idea of it) ſet ſuperſtition to work, on purpoſe to make the people ſtill more tractable. Hiſtorians tell us, that an unknown woman preſented nine volumes to the king, for which ſhe aſked a conſiderable price; that the king being unwilling to pay ſo much, ſhe burnt three, and, returning, aſked the ſame ſum for the other ſix, which being again refuſed, ſhe burnt three more, and then repeated the ſame demand; it was now found that the remaining books were the oracles of the Cumean Sybil, which being purchaſed by Tarquin, the woman inſtantly diſappeared. Theſe books were carefully preſerved, and, while they were in poſſeſſion of the prince, and afterwards of the ſenate, became the infallible interpreters of the will of the gods: from them, anſwers were obtained for every occaſion, and ſuch oracles as the prevailing power choſe to dictate. With ſuch a machine there is no difficulty in domineering over a ſuperſtitious people.

The Capitol built. A fable which was deviſed to raiſe the courage of the Romans.

About this time, the ſcheme of the firſt Tarquin to build the capitol was completed, which gave an opportunity of deviſing another fable, of no leſs importance. While the people were digging the earth for the foundation of the temple of Jupiter, it is ſaid that they found a human head as freſh as if it had been newly cut off. The augurs, being conſulted upon this prodigy, declared that Rome would become the capital of all Italy; and from thence the Tarpeian rock derived the name of Capitol. Similar fictions ſtruck the minds of the people, and, elating their ſouls, inſpired them with a kind of enthuſiaſm, to which the Romans were in ſome degree indebted for their ſucceſs. Convinced in their minds that the gods had deſtined them to empire, they flew to combat as if to certain victory. In

Lucretia violated by the ſon of Tarquin

In the mean time Tarquin reaped the fruits of his policy; and the chimeras with which he amuſed the people, completed what he had begun with violence. He reigned abſolute, and probably would have preſerved his uſurped authority, if the horrid outrage of his ſon Sextus, againſt the chaſte Lucretia, had not provoked the keeneſt indignation. Junius, ſurnamed Brutus, whoſe father had fallen a victim to the tyrant, and who preſerved himſelf by pretending to be an idiot, ſeized the preſent occaſion of being avenged, and of breaking the chains of his country. He rouſed the courage of the ſenators by his eloquence; and at the name of liberty, with the ſight of the dead body of Lucretia, who had ſtabbed herſelf, the people were waked from their lethargy. Tarquin was beſieging Ardea, and was condemned with all his poſterity to perpetual baniſhment; whoever ſhould attempt to reſtore him was devoted to the infernal gods; and monarchical government being totally proſcribed, the republican was ſubſtituted in its place. This great revolution was not brought about by the tyranny of Tarquin, but by the offence of his ſon; and the violated Lucretia rendered that power deteſtable, of which they had ſeen only the abuſe. About the ſame time Athens had ſhaken off the yoke of the Piſiſtratidæ. There is a very extraordinary reſemblance between the cauſes and circumſtances of theſe two revolutions.

Brutus cauſes royalty to be proſcribed.

Rome much indebted to her kings.

Rome had been governed by ſeven kings, during a ſpace of two hundred and forty four years; in which time they laid the foundation of her grandeur, being all able princes, without even excepting the laſt, who, though he may be reproached with acts of cruelty and injuſtice, muſt be allowed to have poſſeſſed both genius and talents. Monteſquieu ſays, with regard to him, "Wo to the reputation of every prince who is oppreſſed by a ruling party!" It is not improbable that if the crown had continued in the family of Tarquin, his memory would not only have been leſs blaſted, but celebrated in the Roman annals. The hiſtorians are accuſed of having exaggerated their accounts of his tyranny.

It

It has been aſked, how ſeven elective kings, four of whom were aſſaſſinated and one dethroned, could include no leſs than a ſpace of two hundred and forty four years in the hiſtory of Rome, while hereditary kingdoms afford no ſuch inſtance of the length of ſeven reigns. It has alſo been aſked, by what prodigy all theſe kings came to diſplay ſuch eminent abilities, which is likewiſe equally without example; and from thence proofs againſt the truth of their hiſtory are drawn. The difficulty is undoubtedly very great; but I ſhall neither attempt to advance probabilities nor conjectures. In theſe early times, dates and ſome particulars may be untrue; but I imagine I have mentioned things which are really uſeful.

Doubts on the hiſtory of theſe kings.

SECOND EPOCHA.

Conſuls inſtead of Kings.

THE PEOPLE OPPRESSED BY THE SENATE.

From the year of Rome two hundred and forty five to two hundred and ſixty.

THE Romans, aſſembled by tribes and curiæ, had paſſed an irrevocable decree againſt royalty, which may be truly reckoned a deed of the people, for in this kind of public aſſembly riches had no influence where the vote of every individual was equal; but when the government of the republic became the ſubject of their attention, the patricians, who were never negligent of what concerned their own intereſt, preferred the comitia by centuries, where the firſt claſs carried every thing againſt all the reſt. Two magiſtrates were annually choſen from their body, who exerciſed the royal authority, under the modeſt apellation of conſuls. Brutus, who was author of the conſpiracy, and Collatinus the huſband of Lucretia, were firſt elected to the conſulſhip. There was

Year of Rome 245 Two conſuls ſubſtituted by the ſenate inſtead of kings.

The name of king united to the prieſthood.

was certainly ſomething ſacred attendant on the name of king, ſince it was not entirely aboliſhed, for they inſtituted a new prieſthood, to which that title was attached; but the *Rex Sacrorum* did not intermeddle in civil matters.

Enthuſiaſm for liberty.

A ſudden tranſition from tyranny to liberty is of all things the moſt likely to inſpire the minds of the people with courage, and to produce uncommon actions, even though that liberty be leſs real than apparent; they are not then to be deterred by ideas of danger or difficulties, and every thing is ſacrificed to preſerve them in a ſtate which they imagine leaves the power in their own hands; the whole body become enlivened by the ardent zeal of a few, and ſeem to be ſolely animated with a love of the public good; of which, Rome affords numerous examples, ſufficiently known.

Brutus condemns his two ſons to death.

Tarquin, having been forſaken by his army, fled for refuge to Tarquinii. The Tuſcans ſent an embaſſy on pretence of demanding the reſtitution of his property, when ſome young Romans were ſeduced by theſe dangerous ambaſſadours, and formed a conſpiracy in favour of the king, either from a perſuaſion that he was unjuſtly perſecuted, or from a deſire of getting into his good graces; but the plot having been diſcovered by a ſlave, and the two ſons of Brutus found among the guilty, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt them by their father, who cauſed them to be put to death in his preſence. A moſt dreadful example! but what he thought abſolutely neceſſary to deſtroy the evil to the root. The property of Tarquin was given up to the people; and the Tuſcan ambaſſadours, who had violated the laws of nations, were diſmiſſed. This inſtance of moderation does the more honour to the Romans, as it ſerves to make the enemies of their liberty appear more deteſtable.

Collatinus abdicates the conſulſhip, & Brutus killed in the field.

Collatinus fell under ſuſpicion, only becauſe he was leſs ſevere againſt the conſpirators than Brutus; and he would have been baniſhed, if he had not followed the advice of his colleague, and abdicated the conſulſhip.

Brutus

Brutus was killed in the field, fighting againſt Aruns, the ſon of Tarquin: they wounded one another mortally; and liberty was confirmed to the people by the blood of its principal author. A funeral oration was pronounced upon Brutus, and the women of Rome wore mourning for him a whole year.

Conduct of Poplicola in favour of the people

The ſpirit of liberty is ſo prone to be ſuſpicious, that the new conſul, Valerius Poplicola, a very popular man, was ſuſpected of aiming at tyranny, becauſe he built a houſe upon a piece of ground which overlooked the *Forum*. He demoliſhed it, to recover the confidence of the people; cauſed the axes to be taken from the *faſces* of the lictors, and ordered that they ſhould be lowered before the aſſemblies of the people. He made it lawful to kill any one who endeavoured to ſet himſelf up as king; and gave leave to appeal to the people, even from the ſentence of the conſuls; to conclude, he truſted the care of the public treaſure to two ſenators, elected by the people. Theſe proceedings occaſioned his being four times choſen conſul; but the ſenate, too jealous of power, were naturally diſſatisfied; however, the aſſiſtance of the people was neceſſary to oppoſe the enemy.

Porſenna lays ſiege to Rome.

Porſenna, the moſt powerful king of Tuſcany, eſpouſed the cauſe of Tarquin, and ſuddenly appeared at the gates of Rome. The ſenate had been provident in laying in the neceſſary ſtore of proviſions, and relieving from taxes the poor citizens whom diſcontent might have ſtirred up to revolt. They declared that their bringing children to the ſtate was ſufficient. In the mean time the city would probably have been obliged to ſurrender, if it had not been for an incredible action of Horatius Cocles, who alone defended the bridge over the Tiber, while the people were employed in breaking it down. From that time the ſiege was converted into a blockade, and there was great reaſon to be apprehenſive of a famine. If we may credit Livy (for the ſilence of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus upon the ſubject makes it much to be doubted) Mucius Scævola, an intrepid young man, who believed every thing to be lawful which could

Actions of Horatius Cocles & Mucius Scævola.

could be done for the preſervation of his country, penetrated not only into the camp, but even into the tent of the Tuſcan king, with a deſign of aſſaſſinating him, though at the expenſe of his own life, but from a miſtake failed in the attempt; yet he boldly declared to Porſenna, that the ſame reſolution had been entered into by a number of his fellow citizens. *It is the Roman character*, ſaid he, *to act and ſuffer like heroes.* Was it heroic to turn murderer? It is ſtrange to ſee the Roman hiſtorians celebrating an action which the laws of all nations join to condemn. Fanaticiſm alone can render ſacred what is ſhocking to human nature.

Porſenna concludes a peace with the Romans. Clelia.

Porſenna ſhewed himſelf more generous by diſmiſſing the aſſaſſin. He then made peace with the Romans. I ſhall paſs over the ſtory of Clelia and her young companions unnoticed, who were given as hoſtages, and who were ſaid to have ſwum back acroſs the Tiber, under a ſhower of arrows. Marvellous ſtories may amuſe children, but can only make men of reflection diſtruſt ancient traditions. Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scævola, and Clelia, are ſaid to have been loaded with honours and rewards; there is no doubt that Rome formed the minds of her citizens to heroiſm by honouring valour. By the death of Valerius Poplicola, who died poor, after having been four times elected conſul, Rome loſt a model of true patriotiſm. His funeral was celebrated at the public expenſe; and the ladies of Rome wearing mourning for him a year, as had been done for Brutus, was a remarkable proof of his being regretted by his country.

Death of Poplicola.

The people oppreſſed by the Patricians.

In the mean time the intrigues of Tarquin continued, thirty cities of Latium having united in his favour; and even Rome was not without the ſeeds of rebellion in her own boſom. The patricians, no longer the fathers of the people, ſought only to domineer over them as their maſters; and every day the inequality of fortune increaſed, which could not fail to ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion. None were to be ſeen, but who were either rich or poor. Though their wealth was but moderate in a ſmall republic, without any advantages derived from

commerce,

commerce, yet their riches were immenſe when compared with the indigent ſtate of the people, who in fact had nothing. Theſe wretched people, having no lands or almoſt none, unacquainted with induſtry, and knowing nothing but how to meet death bravely in the field, lived upon what they could borrow at an uſurious intereſt of twelve per cent. After having accumulated debts upon debts, they found themſelves expoſed to the ſeverities of mercileſs creditors, who put them in priſon, or reduced them to ſlavery. Overwhelmed with oppreſſion, the people declared that they would no longer be enrolled for the wars, unleſs the debts were cancelled; and ſome of them even threatened to leave the city.—"What good do we derive from a country," ſaid they, "that leaves us nothing but an obligation to ſpill our "blood in her ſervice? Shall we not live as well elſe-"where? At leaſt we ſhall be free from creditors."

Cruelty of creditors.

Murmurings of the poor.

Theſe murmurs having alarmed the ſenate, they found it was neceſſary to deliberate on an affair which was become ſo ſerious. Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, propoſed the abolition of debts as a ſtep which both prudence and humanity required; and the motion was approved by the moſt moderate and the pooreſt of the ſenators; but Appius Claudius, a rich Sabine, who was newly ſettled in Rome, haughty, ſevere, and inflexible, maintained, that the public faith, which was the foundation upon which ſociety reſted, would be ruined by aboliſhing the debts; that even the people would become ſufferers by it, as every one would refuſe them money in the day of want; that they might ſhew indulgence to thoſe debtors who had not merited their misfortunes by improper conduct; but that the reſt being a diſgrace to Rome, they ought not to regret the loſs of them, if they thought fit to leave the city: beſides, by ſoftening matters they only encouraged ſedition, whereas by making one or two examples they would quell the mutinous. Theſe ſpecious reaſons by no means ſuited the preſent ſituation of affairs, for the evil was too general, and they muſt have been ruined by driving

It was propoſed to cancel the debts, but Appius Claudius oppoſed it.

driving the people, who were the real ſtrength of the nation, to deſpair.

The people refuſe to take arms.

In ſuch a criſis the ſenate ought not to truſt to lenitives of doubtful efficacy. They put off the deciſion till the war ſhould be at an end, and in the mean time ſuſpended all claims of creditors. But the enemy were advancing, and the mutineers became more and more enraged. Except the richeſt of the plebeians, and thoſe clients who from particular reaſons were attached to the nobles, the whole refuſed to take up arms till their demands were granted. Upon which, a ſcheme was contrived to deceive the people. To put an end to diſputes, it was propoſed to create a new magiſtrate, called a Dictator, who ſhould be inveſted with abſolute authority on thoſe conjunctures where the common laws were inſufficient; and, leſt his power ſhould degenerate into tyranny, he was to continue but ſix months in office.

They are deceived by a dictatorſhip being propoſed.

Year of Rome 255 Creation of a dictator.

The people, looking forward, and eaſily deceived in matters which depend upon futurity, readily approved of the expedient; the power of nominating the dictator was reſerved to one of the conſuls, but the nomination was to be confirmed by the people. Far from being deſirous of ſuch an important charge, the two conſuls, Clelius and Lartius, generouſly contended who ſhould name his colleague, till Lartius ſubmitted, and was choſen dictator. It is one of the moſt extraordinary phenomena of hiſtory, and highly worthy of our admiration, to obſerve that the dictatorſhip, which gave the right of life and death, and the moſt deſpotic power, frequently proved the preſervation of Rome; that it was never abuſed by the ambition of any one who held the office; and the intention being accompliſhed, it was often relinquiſhed before the ſix months were expired. Sylla was the firſt who uſurped it, ſo great was the influence of the laws upon the minds of the Romans.

The dictator Lartius quells the ſedition.

Lartius immediately appointed a general of the horſe (*magiſter equitum*), who was to continue in office as long as himſelf; a cuſtom obſerved ever after. Then, with

a retinue of twenty four lictors, who carried the *faſces* furniſhed with axes, he ſhewed that he was reſolved to puniſh rebellion and every offence with ſeverity. As there was no appeal from his ſentence, the mutineers trembled, and found the neceſſity of ſubmitting. The citizens were then numbered, and found to exceed a hundred and fifty thouſand, above the age of puberty.* The dictator raiſed troops as he pleaſed; and the Latins, who were then threatening Rome, propoſed a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; upon which he concluded a truce, and immediately reſigned the dictatorſhip.

Battle of Regillus, which ſecured the republican government.

As ſoon as the truce was expired, the Latins again took up arms, and it ſeemed neceſſary to elect a ſecond dictator. Poſthumius being choſen, marched to oppoſe the enemy, whoſe army amounted to forty three thouſand men, while he had twenty five thouſand; but his troops being to engage the ſons of Tarquin, they were fired with all the ardour which a hatred of tyranny could inſpire. The bloody battle of Regillus, in which Titus and Sextus, the ſons of the tyrant, were killed, determined the fate of the republic, ſcarcely ten thouſand of the Latins having eſcaped from the field. They ſued to the Romans for peace, and were irrecoverably ſubjected.

The Latins totally ſubdued.

Death of Tarquin.

Tarquin, worn out with age and misfortunes, died at Cumæ in Campania. The liberty of Rome was the produce of his deſpotiſm, and he found that even the moſt fortunate ambition may lead to deſtruction: yet notwithſtanding the experience of all ages, theſe thoughts ſeldom occur to the ambitious.

The patricians renew their oppreſſions.

While the patricians continued in dread, leſt the people ſhould recal Tarquin, they behaved to them with ſome degree of caution; but they were no ſooner delivered from this apprehenſion, than they redoubled their former oppreſſions; and put in execution, more rigorouſly

* I do not know if the number mentioned by hiſtorians is to be credited. The eighth time of taking the numbers, which was in the year of Rome 279, there were only one hundred and three thouſand citizens. The ninth, in 288, makes them a hundred and eighty thouſand two hundred and fifteen. Wars and diſeaſes might greatly leſſen the number in a few years; but how ſhall we account for their being ſo greatly increaſed in ſo few years?

rigorouſly than ever, that deteſtable law, which gave them the power of loading inſolvent debtors with chains, or even ſelling them; ſo that the whole city was ſoon filled with oppreſſions and murmurings. An old man, who had eſcaped out of priſon, preſented himſelf an emaciated ghaſtly ſpectacle before the people; he expoſed to them the ſcars of the wounds which he had received in fighting for his country, and the marks of recent ſtripes, with which he had been torn by a mercileſs creditor; he gave an account of his misfortunes occaſioned by accident, and the avarice of another perſon. The people kindled into fury, and the ſenate immediately aſſembled, when Appius Claudius adhered to his former opinion, and adviſed the ſenate to make no conceſſion, but to puniſh.

Sedition of the people.

This advice was the more indefenſible, as the Volſci, having violated a treaty of peace, had juſt declared war againſt them, and accounts of their advancing with a numerous army immediately followed. The plebeians did not in the leaſt attempt to diſſemble their ſatisfaction, and openly declared that the patricians might go and fight their battles themſelves, ſince they only reaped the advantages of victory; but the conſul Servilius, by his mild behaviour, his promiſes, and ſuſpending the claims of the creditors for the preſent, ſo ſatisfied the people, that love of their country reviving with their hopes, the minds of theſe brave citizens were quieted, and the debtors contended who ſhould be firſt enrolled. Servilius defeated the Volſci, and divided the plunder among his troops; but his colleague Appius, reproaching him with his deſire of popularity, perſuaded the ſenate to refuſe him the honour of a triumph. Servilius, provoked at this affront, aſſembled the people in the Campus Martius, and, complaining of the injuſtice of the ſenate, decreed a triumph to himſelf, and marched in the moſt pompous manner to the Capitol, followed by his army, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the populace.

Prudent conduct of the conſul Servilius to calm the people

The ſenate refuſe him a triumph; he decreed one to himſelf.

It is ſurpriſing, that the ſenate, ſo highly extolled for their prudence and wiſdom, ſhould perſiſt in ſchemes of ſeverity, as if the dreadful condition of many of the plebeians had not required immediate relief, had it been practicable to keep a warlike people, upon whom they depended for their defence, perpetually oppreſſed. Ariſtocracy is of all governments the moſt oppreſſive; the ſenators wiſhed to have it eſtabliſhed, yet their conduct was ſuch as to make it completely odious. The people fruitleſsly ſolicited the performance of the promiſes made by Servilius; but the inexorable Appius was deaf to their complaints; they gathered together in crowds, beſet the tribunals, inſulted the ſenators, and refuſed to be enrolled againſt the Sabines, who, taking advantage of theſe diſturbances, ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion.

The inflexible ſeverity of the ſenate brings on a revolt.

Appius perſiſted in the ſenate to maintain, that they ought to check the licentiouſneſs of the people by ſeverity; that the appeal from the ſentence of the conſuls was a ſource of ſedition, and to remedy it it was neceſſary to chooſe a dictator, whoſe abſolute power ſhould ſuppreſs the ſpirit of rebellion. He had ſufficient influence to prevail, and Valerius was choſen dictator, who was happily a man of prudence and moderation. He perſuaded the plebeians by his promiſes to join in the common cauſe, and, having reduced the Sabines, inſiſted upon the extinction of the debts; but the young ſenators were obſtinate in their refuſal, and inſolently accuſed him of having betrayed the intereſt of his own rank in favour of the populace. Fired with indignation, he aſſembled the people, gave them an account of the ill intentions of the ſenate, and laid down his office of dictator.

The dictator Valerius attempts in vain to ſoften the ſenate.

The greater reſpect and gratitude which the people ſhewed to Valerius, the more violent was their reſentment againſt the whole body of patricians; and ſedition was ready to break forth. The conſuls, who had each of them their army ſtill on foot, depending upon the influence of the oath, which the religion of the Romans rendered

The ſoldiers kept againſt their inclination by means of their oath.

rendered inviolably ſacred, ordered the ſoldiers, on pretence of a new war, to follow them. All the ſoldiers at the time of being enrolled, took an oath that they would obey their generals, and till the time of their being diſmiſſed it kept them ſubject to military ſervices. It was then neceſſary for them to leave Rome, and the moſt violent of them thought of killing the conſuls, as the means of abſolving them from their oath, for the paſſions will go every length in hoodwinking the conſcience; but it was repreſented to them, that a ſacred engagement could not be diſſolved by the commiſſion of a crime; however, they contrived to elude the law by another frivolous evaſion, which was to ſteal away the colours and retire with them; for the ſoldiers had likewiſe ſworn not to abandon their colours. By betraying the conſuls to follow them, they thought they faithfully adhered to the oath; and, appointing officers for themſelves, they went and encamped upon the Sacred Mount, beyond the Anio, about three miles diſtant from Rome.

They elude the oath, and retire to the ſacred Mount.

Deſertion of the people.

This unexpected deſertion made the ſenate ſenſible of the injury they did themſelves by their unjuſt ſeverity. The people ran in crowds to the Sacred Mount, and the guards who were placed at the gates could not oppoſe them. The deputies, who were ſent out to treat with the mutineers, brought back for anſwer, that after promiſes had been ſo frequently violated, it was impoſſible to depend upon the ſenate; that ſince the patricians wanted to domineer in Rome, they might continue maſters of the city, but that the poor citizens would be free, and ſhould eſteem that place to be their country where they could enjoy liberty. What was moſt ſurpriſing, was to ſee the order and diſcipline which prevailed in their camp; there was no tumult nor act of violence; they came down from the mountain in ſearch of proviſions, and, contenting themſelves with what was barely neceſſary, returned quietly to their poſts. Never was an army ſeen under the conſuls more worthy of the name; nor was there ever an inſurrection,

Their aſtoniſhing moderation.

where

where the people with arms in their hands, and driven to deſpair, ſignalized themſelves by ſuch aſtoniſhing moderation.

Deputation of the ſenate to the people

Even this moderation was diſtreſſing to the ſenate, for it ſhewed that their ſchemes were well concerted, and that they had a formidable power ready to fall upon the city, ſo that an univerſal conſternation took place. No one durſt venture to canvaſs for the conſulſhip, and two ſenators were compelled to accept it. They took the affair of the debts into conſideration, and appointed ten deputies to confer with the people, allowing them full power to agree to any terms that were judged advantageous for the republic. Appius and the young ſenators in vain attempted to overrule this meaſure; their violent counſels had already produced too fatal conſequences, again to extinguiſh the ſentiments of humanity. Things were come to ſuch a paſs, that unleſs great conceſſions were made to the people, it was impoſſible to reſtore peace and good order. Thus we ſee the abuſe of power bring about the moſt important revolutions.

THIRD EPOCHA.

Tribunes of the People.

The People acquire Power.

From the year of Rome two hundred and sixty, to three hundred and two.

CHAP. I.

From the creation of Tribunes of the People, to the baniſhment of Coriolanus.

Year of Rome 260. The deputies of the ſenate well received by the people.

THREE men, deſerving the confidence of the people, were ſent at the head of the deputation from the ſenate; Lartius and Valerius, who had both held the office of dictator, and Menenius Agrippa, who was of conſular dignity, and author of the prudent meaſures now adopted. Notwithſtanding their diſguſt, the people ſincerely loved their country, and received the deputies with every expreſſion of joy and ſatisfaction. They would have been very tractable, if it had not been for two of the ringleaders, whoſe fiery tempers kept up the diſſenſion. Upon this occaſion, Menenius is ſaid to have made uſe of the fable of the belly and the members with ſucceſs. The members rebelled againſt the belly, which they accuſed of profiting by their labour, without doing any thing in return for them, but were undeceived by woful experience; they refuſed their ſervice, and ſunk into a mortal languor. This he alledged to be a picture of the people, who were too much prejudiced againſt the ſenate. Reflecting minds might ſee the juſtice of the apologue, but other motives were neceſſary to affect the multitude; and certainly Menenius made a deeper im-

Fable of the belly and the members.

preſſion

preſſion upon them by declaring that the debts would be cancelled by the ſenate.

This was all the people wanted; but one of their leaders, whoſe name was Junius, and who aſſumed that of Brutus, as being a reſtorer of liberty, took the opportunity of railing againſt the ſenate, for the deceitfulneſs with which they had hitherto treated the people. He adviſed them to take every poſſible precaution for the future, and to inſiſt upon having plebeian magiſtrates, whoſe ſole duty ſhould be to watch over their intereſts. A demand which at bottom was juſt, ſince from what had already happened they had reaſon to dread the moſt cruel injuſtice. The deputies were perplexed with this propoſal, and, thinking it was their duty to inform the ſenate, ſet out on their return to Rome, after having given the people hopes of having their requeſt granted.

Junius Brutus perſuades the people to require plebeian magiſtrates.

The ſenate had reduced themſelves to the wretched alternative, either of encountering all the horrours of a civil war, or of yielding to whatever the people choſe to demand. It was in vain for Appius to oppoſe their demands, and with the moſt earneſt zeal call upon gods and men to witneſs the numberleſs ills which he foreboded. Prudent diſpoſitions might have prevented matters from coming to this extremity; but his haughty ſeverity having excluded every other means of reconciliation, the ſenate agreed to the election of tribunes of the people; which was the name given to thoſe new magiſtrates, who were choſen from that body for their protection. A law was paſſed to render their perſons ſacred; declaring whoever preſumed to ſtrike a tribune accurſed, and devoting his property to the ſervice of the goddeſs Ceres; if any of them were killed, the murderer might be put to death without trial.

Tribunes of the people created.

Their perſons held ſacred.

The tribunes of the people wore no enſigns of dignity; they were ſeated at the gate of the ſenate houſe, which they could not enter until they had an order from the conſuls; their power ſcarcely extended beyond the walls of Rome, and they were forbidden to abſent themſelves from the city; but if any one of the tribunes diſap-

Their power, without any enſigns of dignity.

proved of a decree of the ſenate, it was ſufficient to invalidate it, and his ſingle *veto* put a ſtop to all their proceedings. We ſhall ſee their power daily increaſe, and become as formidable as that of the ephori in Sparta. If they frequently abuſed their power, as might be foreſeen, they at leaſt preſerved the people from oppreſſion. At firſt they were only five, and increaſed afterwards to ten, and the election was annual. Upon the introduction of tribunes, there were two plebeian magiſtrates, called *Ediles*, appointed as their officers, whoſe duty it was to attend to the execution of the laws reſpecting buildings.

Ediles.

The eſtabliſhment of tribunes, and the extinction of debts, having brought back the people to their duty, Poſthumius Cominius, the conſul, defeated the Volſci, and took Corioli, their capital. His ſucceſs upon this occaſion was chiefly owing to the valour of Marcius, a young patrician who had all the qualities of a hero, but without the moderation of a ſage. The conſul having crowned him with his own hand, wanted in the next place to enrich him, and therefore deſtined a tenth part of the plunder to his uſe; but it was refuſed by Marcius, who thought the ſurname of Coriolanus, which was given to him by the ſoldiers, with whom he was in the higheſt favour, a nobler recompenſe.

The taking of Corioli, the capital of the Volſci.

Notwithſtanding the examples of avarice, which had been given by many of the patricians, the heroes of the republic were for a long time diſtinguiſhed by their contempt of riches. That noble virtue, which at the time that it placed Ariſtides above all the great men of Athens, was ſo valued by Menenius Agrippa, that when he died he did not leave wherewith to defray his funeral expenſes. The people impoſed a tax upon themſelves, that he might be buried in the moſt magnificent manner; and refuſed to receive back their money, though the ſenate had given orders to the queſtors to pay the expenſe; the money was therefore given to his children.

The people pay the expenſe of the funeral of Menenius Agrippa.

To

To this generous conteſt between the two orders ſucceeded a new commotion, occaſioned by a famine, in conſequence of the people having left their lands unſown when they retreated to the Sacred Mount. All the care that the ſenate took to provide againſt the ſcarcity did not prevent the people from ſuffering, and uttering complaints. In ſuch circumſtances they are commonly unjuſt, becauſe they do not reflect upon the cauſe of their misfortune, but are provoked by their feelings to judge unfavourably of thoſe to whom they fruitleſsly look for relief; and they ſuſpected that the ſenators kept the corn for their own families. The tribunes, being provoked at two colonies being planted againſt their inclination, propagated this report, and inflamed the minds of the people; while Appius railed againſt them in the ſenate, and inſpired the ſenators with a reſolution to check this ſpirit, and to puniſh the offenders. The conſuls aſſembled the people with that intention, and, being interrupted by the tribunes, attempted to ſilence them, when a diſpute aroſe about the privilege of ſpeaking at the public aſſemblies, which afforded the tribunes an opportunity of extending their authority.

An inſurrection occaſioned by a famine.

The tribunes inflame the people.

Junius Brutus, one of the ediles, the ſame mutineer whoſe audacity was formerly mentioned, having obtained leave to ſpeak, as if to finiſh the conteſt, aſked them the reaſon of their preventing the tribunes from addreſſing the people. "It is," replied one of the conſuls, "becauſe the people were aſſembled by us, and therefore "the right of ſpeaking belongs to us; but if the tri- "bunes had ſummoned the people, ſo far from inter- "rupting them, I would not even have come to hear "them." This imprudent expreſſion produced moſt important conſequences. "Plebeians, you have con- "quered," cried Junius: "Tribunes, allow the conſuls "to harangue the people at preſent, and tomorrow I will "ſhew you the power and dignity of your office." In fact, the tribunes, by his advice, next morning at day-break appeared in the forum, attended by almoſt the whole people; when one of them, whoſe name was Icilius,

The tribunes provoked becauſe the conſuls prevented them from haranguing the people

lius, declared that it was eſſential for the faithful diſcharging of their office, that they ſhould have the power of aſſembling the people, and haranguing them upon the ſubject of the general intereſt without being interrupted. The motion was applauded, and a law which had been prepared by him and his colleagues over night, was immediately approved.

Decree of the people, which allowed the tribunes to aſſemble them, and forbid their being contradicted.

This law declared, "That in the aſſemblies of the "people, ſummoned by the tribunes, nobody ſhall pre"ſume to interrupt or contradict them; that if any one "dare to do it, he muſt find ſecurity for the payment "of ſuch fine as ſhall be impoſed; and if he refuſes "to give ſecurity, he ſhall be put to death." The power of the tribunes was greatly increaſed by this means; yet without this privilege they could have protected the people but very feebly. The abuſes of ariſtocracy brought about changes, which could only produce freſh grievances; and this law was a dreadful blow to the ſenate, who refuſed to confirm it, on pretence of its being the work of an unlawful aſſembly: upon which the people declared, that if they refuſed the laws paſſed by the plebeians, they would reject the decrees of the ſenate; ſo that the ſenators yielded, either from complaiſance or neceſſity.

The tribunes anxious to extend the rights of the people

The more the tribunes gained ground, the farther were the rights of the people extended; in which, undoubtedly, they were perſonally intereſted. If they were led by motives of ambition, or laboured to ſerve their own ends, they were at the ſame time ſtriving to confine the power of the ſenate within the limits of a mixed government, where ariſtocracy, tempered by democracy, could not oppreſs the people. An opportunity very ſoon offered for their making a new trial of their ſtrength, and the ſucceſs kept pace with their wiſhes.

Coriolanus gives bad advice againſt the people.

Corn had been received from Sicily, which country was a valuable reſource in days of ſcarcity. The lower people always ſuffered, but, content with the little which their lands afforded, committed no outrage, till the haughty ſeverity of Coriolanus kindled the flame. When

it

it came to be debated in the ſenate, what was to be done with the corn which had been procured from Sicily, it was propoſed by ſome of the ſenators to diſtribute it among the poor *gratis*, and humanity dictated the advice; but there were others who adviſed its being ſold at a very high price, to puniſh and quell the inſolence of the people. Coriolanus maintained, that they ought to profit by the preſent ſituation of affairs, aboliſh the tribuneſhip, and break the conventions into which they had entered upon the Sacred Mount. This hero, whoſe probity and diſintereſtedneſs were ſo highly extolled, was ignorant of the gentler virtues by which the hearts of men are to be gained; he imagined that all ſhould bend ſubmiſſively to the authority of the ſenate; but he weakened its power, and ruined himſelf by his imprudence. It could not be difficult to foreſee, that violence muſt produce as violent an oppoſition.

Coriolanus treats the tribunes & the people with contempt

The tribunes, acquainted with theſe proceedings, invoked the gods who were avengers of perjury; and the enraged people wanted to murder Coriolanus. Theſe magiſtrates reſtrained the popular fury, and ſummoned Coriolanus to appear before them; but the haughty patrician deſpiſed their ſummons. They attempted to ſeize his perſon, but were repulſed by the young ſenators, and at laſt called an aſſembly of the people, where Coriolanus, far from making an apology to ſoothe their reſentment, in a haughty tone repeated whatever he had ſaid to the ſenate, proteſting that he acknowledged no authority but that of the conſuls, and appeared in that aſſembly of mutineers only to reproach them for their inſolence. He vowed an irreconcilable hatred againſt the tribunes, whom he called *the poiſon of the public peace.*

One of the tribunes cites him to await the judgment of the people.

Sicinius, one of the tribunes, immediately condemned him to be put to death by his ſingle authority, and ordered that he ſhould be thrown from the Tarpeian rock. As the patricians were preparing to defend him, and reſpect for the conſuls prevented the people from moving, he then cited Coriolanus to await the judgment of the people

people in twenty ſeven days. It was a cuſtom not to decide any public matter till after three market days, that the people in the country might be properly informed, and the markets were held only every ninth day. Sicinius added to the ſummons, that if the ſenate did not ſettle the diſtribution of the corn, the tribunes would take it into their own management.

The ſenate conſents to the trial of Coriolanus.

The ſenate had never been expoſed to ſuch a dangerous attack, and fruitleſſly endeavoured to ward off the blow. They ſet the price of the corn at the ſame rate as before the diſturbances; but that neither prevailed on Sicinius to deſiſt from the accuſation, nor to give up to the ſenators the firſt examination of the affair, as was the cuſtom in the time of the kings. The other tribunes, leſs violent, or of ſuperiour abilities, afraid of making themſelves deteſted by an inflexible obſtinacy, at laſt conſented to let the ſenate judge in the firſt inſtance, provided that in the end it ſhould be referred to the people. The ſenate deliberated upon the ſubject, and diſputed very warmly; when Appius, according to cuſtom, declared, that unleſs ſedition was checked, all would go to ruin. Valerius, in oppoſition to him, repreſented the danger and miſery that attended a civil war; and alledged, that by giving the people a proof of condeſcenſion, it would make them more inclined to favour the perſon accuſed; in which opinion he was joined by the majority. Coriolanus then aſked the tribunes, what crime they had to lay to his charge. *The having aſpired to ſovereignty*, replied they. *If to refute ſuch an accuſation is all that is wanted*, anſwered the hero, boldly, *I will appear before the people.*

The tribunes carry it, that the aſſembly ſhall vote by tribes.

The tribunes, being reſolved to have their revenge, planted their batteries with the greateſt dexterity poſſible. They foreſaw that if the ſuffrages were to be taken by centuries, according to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Servius, the ſenate would carry their point; they therefore required that they ſhould be aſſembled by tribes, upon pretence that every citizen had an equal right to vote in an affair in which the rights of the people were concerned.

cerned. The ſenate were obliged to yield up this eſſential point, and from that time the form of government was changed in favour of the plebeians. Such is the inſtability of an imperfect and tempeſtuous conſtitution.

The tribes being aſſembled on the day appointed for trial, Minucius the conſul harangued the people in favour of the illuſtrious citizen who preſented himſelf at their tribunal; inſiſted upon his birth, his noble actions, and his ſervices to the ſtate; and, in the name of the whole ſenate, requeſted that he might not be treated as a criminal. The tribune Sicinius, on the other hand, was equally zealous in the proſecution, and maintained, that the attempts made by Coriolanus to aboliſh the office of tribune, and to prevent the price of corn from being lowered, were certain proofs of his aiming at tyranny. This imputation was invalidated by Coriolanus, who ſhewed them his ſcars, and named to them the citizens whoſe lives he had ſaved in battle; but Decius, another tribune, accuſed him of having diſtributed ſome plunder among his ſoldiers, which the laws did not give him a right to diſpoſe of, though there had been frequent examples of it. Coriolanus could make but a weak defence againſt this unexpected charge, and was condemned to perpetual exile. Of twenty nine tribes, only nine declared in his favour.

Year of Rome 262. Coriolanus baniſhed.

CHAP. II.

From the baniſhment of Coriolanus to the chooſing Decemvirs.

AFTER the baniſhment of Coriolanus, the people exulted as if they had gained a deciſive victory over the patricians, while they ought rather to have reproached themſelves with ſhameful ingratitude to a moſt reſpectable citizen to whom they were indebted for very important ſervices, and whoſe offence, if we confine ourſelves to the terms of the accuſation, was only imaginary, and unſupported by proofs. They were very ſoon made

Year of Rome 262. Coriolanus ſeeks revenge for the injuſtice done him, and joins the Volſcians.

made ſenſible of what conſequence it is to avoid giving offence to men, who by their characters are equally capable of ſerving or injuring the ſtate. Coriolanus was deaf to every thing but revenge, and having retired among the Volſcians to Antium, perſuaded them to take up arms againſt his country; and, being appointed their general, invaded the Roman territories, ſpreading univerſal terrour wherever he advanced.

They ſend deputies to him.

The people and ſenate then changed their conduct with reſpect to Coriolanus. The former, always influenced by preſent occurrences, inſiſted upon his being recalled, while the ſenate, looking upon him as an enemy of the republic, refuſed their conſent; but the ſenators were ſoon ſoftened by the proſpect of danger, and ſent a deputation to the implacable Coriolanus, who received them with every mark of diſdain. The prieſts made the next attempt to ſoften him, but met with the ſame reception: but at laſt his mother, the illuſtrious Veturia, at the head of the Roman ladies, went to diſarm her rebellious ſon; when the feelings of nature overcame his haughty ſpirit, he cried out, *Rome is ſaved, but your ſon is loſt.* He then concluded a peace*, and, according to ſome writers, was aſſaſſinated by the Volſcians; while others affirm that he continued to languiſh till he was of a great age, ſadly regretting his abſence from his native country.

His mother prevails.

His death.

How much the Greeks at that time were ſuperiour to the Romans.

His cotemporary Themiſtocles experienced a ſimilar fate, after having ſaved Athens by his courage and prudence. In comparing theſe two celebrated men, it is eaſy to obſerve the great ſuperiority of Greece, which at that time baffled the power of Aſia, over a growing republic, whoſe only enemies were a few petty nations of Italy, that were ſituated in the neighbourhood of Rome; but, remaining always armed againſt their neighbours, the Romans were taught by theſe trifling conteſts at length to ſubdue the moſt powerful nations.

In

* To preſerve the remembrance of the ſervice done to the ſtate by Veturia, the ſenate erected a temple to the *Fortune of Women*, into which only the ladies were entitled to enter.

In the mean time an agrarian law, which was propoſed by Caſſius the conſul, revived the diſſenſions. It is ſaid that ambition had inſpired him with the deſire of promoting this law, as an inſtrument by which he thought to obtain ſovereign power. He propoſed, that not only the Romans, but likewiſe their allies, ſhould have a ſhare of the conquered lands, and even of thoſe which had been a long time uſurped by the patricians. The people thought they had an excluſive right, and were offended at the thought of the allies being admitted. The ſenate determined that no foreigners ſhould ſhare but in proportion as they had contributed to the conqueſt, and paſſed a decree by which ten ſenators were intruſted with the execution of the law; thinking by this means to gain time to fruſtrate the views of Caſſius, who was no ſooner out of office than he was accuſed before the people, by two queſtors, of aiming at ſovereignty. According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, he was convicted and put to death; and ſome writers ſay, that his father was the proſecutor before the ſenate, and cauſed the ſentence to be put in execution in his own houſe; but it is certain that the ſenate frequently accuſed thoſe people of aiming at tyranny, whom they thought it their intereſt to deſtroy.

Year of Rome 267. An agrarian law of the conſul Caſſius.

He was put to death for having aimed at tyranny.

As the paſſing this decree was only an artifice to deceive the people, the execution of the law was required in vain, and every thing foreboded an approaching rupture. It was at this time that the ſenate employed all their dexterity to provoke new wars, that the reſtleſs ardour of the plebeians might be diverted from attending to domeſtic cares. The people refuſed to enliſt, but were compelled by the ſenate threatening to appoint a dictator; and the Æqui, the Volſcians, the Veians, and Tuſcans, were all defeated in different engagements. It is ſaid, that in one of theſe wars the family of the Fabii alone, conſiſting of three hundred and ſix, for a long time continued to terrify the enemy, but were at laſt ſurpriſed and oppreſſed by numbers, when there was not a ſingle man of the whole family eſcaped; but nevertheleſs the race was not thereby extinguiſhed. The

The people diſſatisfied.

The ſenate employ them in war.

Family of the Fabii.

Diſcord continues.

The loſſes ſuſtained by the Romans, conſtantly repaired by ſucceſs, were trifling when compared with the evils which ſprung from diſcord. They had ſcarcely laid down their arms when their diſſenſions were revived, eſpecially on the ſubject of the agrarian law, and on the choice of magiſtrates. The plebeians, deſirous to have a conſul of their own nomination, appointed one, while the other was choſen by the ſenate. The ſudden death of one of the tribunes having ſtruck his colleagues with conſternation, as if the gods had diſapproved their ſchemes, the ſenate became more bold, and treated the people with greater ſeverity. The conſuls cauſed thoſe who refuſed to enliſt to be beaten with rods, and Volero, an old plebeian officer, made his appeal to the people from the cruelty of ſuch a ſentence. They inſtantly flew to his aſſiſtance, drove away the lictors, and broke the *faſces*. Some time after, Volero was choſen one of the tribunes.

Severity of the ſenate.

Year of Rome 281 Volero wants to have the tribunes elected at the aſſembly of the tribes.

Without ſhewing the leaſt perſonal reſentment, this magiſtrate gave a mortal ſtab to the power of the patricians, who had great influence in the election of tribunes, which was made by the curiæ. The aſſemblies by curiæ, like thoſe by centuries, could not meet without a decree of the ſenate; the auſpices were always taken, and as the augurs were all patricians, they had the power in their own hands of directing or diſſolving thoſe aſſemblies which were ſubjected to a political ſuperſtition. On the other hand, the aſſemblies by tribes were held without conſulting the augurs, or waiting the conſent of the ſenate. All the inhabitants of the country, leſs connected with the patricians than the citizens, had a right of voting in the aſſemblies of the tribes, though they had not in thoſe of the curiæ; in a word, numbers carried every thing; Volero therefore undertook to have the tribunes and ediles elected at the aſſemblies by tribes, and in general every buſineſs decided, which was of conſequence to the public.

Great quarrels about his law, but at length it paſſed.

His law met with the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſition from the conſul Appius Claudius, the ſon of him whom we

have

have ſeen ſo zealous to ſupport the prerogatives of the ſenate, but ſtill leſs capable even than his father of yielding on critical occaſions. At the meeting of the aſſembly he railed with ſo much ſpleen and haughtineſs, that he diſguſted the plebeians at the very time that his colleague Quintius had gained their favour; they came to blows; and if it had been a cuſtom to wear arms in the city, it would probably have proved a bloody quarrel; but the moderation of the ſenate prevented farther miſchief. They not only declared that both parties, being heated with too great zeal, ought to forget the violences committed by each other, but likewiſe gave their conſent to the law propoſed by Volero.

From a hatred of Appius his forces allow themſelves to be defeated.

All theſe changes were brought about by the former tyranny of the ſenators, while an equitable and temperate behaviour would doubtleſs have prevented them. Appius was of too fiery a diſpoſition to learn from experience, and gave vent to his ſevere humour upon the army which he commanded againſt the Volſcians. Tyranniſing over his ſoldiers, he created to himſelf as many enemies as he had troops; and the Romans, to be revenged of their general, betrayed the cauſe of the public, and allowed themſelves to be defeated. Dreadful executions commemorated his rage; for the centurions were beaten with rods, and beheaded, and the reſt of the army decimated. At the ſame time the other conſul, Quintius, who was adored by his ſoldiers, gained a victory in another part of the country. What an amazing difference the good or ill will of an army may occaſion!

Appius accuſed by the tribunes.

At the expiration of this conſulſhip the tribunes reſumed the affair of the agrarian law, which proved an inexhauſtible ſubject of diſputes. The new conſuls propoſed to ſatisfy the people, but all their reaſons were defeated by the violence of Appius. The tribunes, provoked by a new refuſal, accuſed him in the preſence of the people; but Appius appeared upon the occaſion more like a judge than a perſon accuſed, and ſtruck them with ſuch awe that they durſt not pronounce any ſentence againſt him: however, foreſeeing that a ſecond

His ſteady courage.

meeting

meeting would condemn him, he laid violent hands upon himſelf. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the tribunes, his funeral oration was pronounced by his ſon, and applauded even by the populace, who could not help admiring the ſteady courage of the father. Such men, by governing their paſſions, might prove an honour and glory to their country; but they preſerve the flame of diſcord, by a violent and overbearing attachment to the dignity of their own order, which often rendered their beſt qualities dangerous.

Continuation of the diſſenſions

The patricians and the rich plebeians were unwilling to be deprived of the lands which they poſſeſſed; and the agrarian law was ſupported by the tribunes; ſo that this oppoſition of intereſts could not fail to perpetuate the civil diſtractions, which were carried to ſuch a length that the people refuſed to attend the aſſemblies by centuries, and the conſuls were elected by the patricians and their adherents. Amidſt all theſe diſſenſions, Rome ſtill had ſome invincible attractions which preſerved the love of the people; they declined to go and eſtabliſh colonies; and, as Livy ſays, *they choſe rather to claim lands at Rome, than to accept them elſewhere.* This love of country paved the way for thoſe enterpriſes which in an after period procured them the empire of the world.

Patriotiſm

Rome wanted laws.

Far from being able at this time to lay down extenſive plans of future greatneſs, they were even unprovided of civil laws for regulating their conduct, or preſerving the property of the people. The conſuls decided in all differences, either from principles of natural equity, or from ancient cuſtoms, or by ſome laws of Romulus and his ſucceſſors, of which there were ſcarce any veſtiges remaining in the ſacred books, to which the people were ſtrangers. This arbitrary juriſprudence was a myſterious ſecret, which the patricians kept among themſelves; from it they derived a part of their authority; and the people had the misfortune not to know by what rule they were to be governed, or their fate determined.

Year of Rome 291

The tribune Terentius, or Terentillus, undertook to remedy this defect. A number of the patricians had been

been carried off by the plague, and the two conſuls were abſent upon expeditions; the preſent moment therefore ſeemed favourable to carry his deſign into execution. He propoſed that a body of laws ſhould be publiſhed to ſerve for the adminiſtration of juſtice: but he did not ſtop there; for after having harangued againſt the deſpotic power of the conſuls, whom he repreſented as two abſolute monarchs, he required that five commiſſioners ſhould be choſen to determine the proper limits of their power. This was the intention of the famous Terentian law, which was equally diſagreeable to the ſenators as the agrarian. Both parties diſputed with that zeal which is common in ſimilar circumſtances, but the uniform detail of theſe keen debates cannot be admitted into the plan of our hiſtory. Particular intereſt frequently prevails over the general good, both with one party and the other; and the tribunes were not the moſt temperate. Quintius Ceſo, ſon of the great Cincinnatus, whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to mention, who might be compared to Coriolanus, becauſe he oppoſed their ſcheme, was the firſt who fell a ſacrifice to their anger. Being falſely accuſed, he quitted Rome without waiting their ſentence. Ten citizens having bound themſelves in a conſiderable ſum for his appearance, the money was paid by his father, who was then obliged to ſell all his poſſeſſions except one ſmall farm, that ſerved him for a retreat.

Terentian law for publiſhing a code and to leſſen the power of the conſuls.

Warm diſputes upon the ſubject.

Ceſo accuſed by the tribunes.

Herdonius, a rich Sabine, taking advantage of theſe diſputes, ſeized the Capitol by ſurpriſe. The conſuls ordered the people to arm againſt the enemy; but they were diſſuaded from it by the tribunes, who aſſured them that it was an artifice of the ſenate. At laſt the conſul Valerius, by entreaties and promiſes, prevailed with the people, who, having attacked the enemy, ſoon recovered the Capitol; but Valerius being killed in the aſſault, Quintius Cincinnatus was brought from the plough to ſucceed him. By a happy mixture of mildneſs with ſteady courage, he reſtored tranquillity and good order in the ſtate; he gave freſh life to the courſe of

The Capitol taken by a Sabine & recovered.

Cincinnatus brought from his plough to be conſul and then dictator.

of juſtice, and in ſome degree made the tribunes to be forgotten. Minucius, who ſucceeded him in the conſulſhip, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by the Æqui, againſt whom he was engaged in war, and upon the intelligence arriving at Rome, the danger to which the army was expoſed made them chooſe a dictator, when the choice fell upon Cincinnatus. That illuſtrious huſbandman once more forſook his fields, and put himſelf at the head of his fellow citizens, delivered Minucius, made the enemy paſs under the yoke, returned in triumph, ſaw his ſon Ceſo vindicated and recalled, and on the ſixteenth day laid down the dictatorſhip to go and reſume his plough, of which he ſeemed to be more enamoured than of the honour of a triumph.

Love of poverty and military diſcipline.

Have thoſe people who undervalue ſuch excellent examples, by ſaying that the Romans were at that time ignorant of the ſeducing power of riches, ſufficiently reflected upon the many inſtances of avarice, which were ſo common among the patricians, from the very beginning of the republic? The love of poverty is a quality which belongs only to ſuperiour minds. If that virtue was uncommon, poverty at leaſt kept enervating vices at a diſtance; and military diſcipline, added to courage and bodily ſtrength, could not fail to render the Romans invincible. When Cincinnatus ſaved Minucius, he made him reſign the conſulſhip, becauſe he had allowed himſelf to be ſurpriſed by the enemy. *You muſt learn the art of war as an inferiour*, ſaid he, *before you take the command of the Roman legions as conſul.* Becauſe the army of Minucius was upon the point of being defeated, they were refuſed a ſhare of the plunder. Such ſtrict diſcipline and elevated ſentiments muſt either have deſtroyed a republic which was almoſt continually engaged in war, or enabled the Romans to ſubdue all other nations.

The tribunes prevent the people from enliſting.

But they could not agree among themſelves; for the tribunes, always perſiſting in their ſchemes, prevented the people from enliſting until they could obtain ſatisfaction; which made the ſenate have recourſe to Cincinnatus,

cinnatus, who again quitted his farm to aſſiſt them with his advice. As the lands of the republic were laid waſte, and no one had taken up arms for their defence, he was of opinion that the patricians, only with their clients, ſhould march to oppoſe the enemy: upon which the people, being aſhamed at ſeeing ſuch an example, became more tractable. The tribunes conſented to the levies, upon condition that five ſhould be added to their number. Cincinnatus, like a ſkilful politician, concluded, that in proportion as they became more numerous they would be leſs united; and the ſenate, yielding to his opinion, the number of tribunes was increaſed to ten. By gaining one, the attempts of the reſt could be prevented. The new tribunes ſwore that they would ſupport the opinion of the majority; but ſuch harmony could not long ſubſiſt.

Cincinnatus increaſes their number to make diviſions.

After new diſputes, in which violence and animoſity took place of zeal and juſtice, the ſenate, dreading the total ruin of the republic, were at laſt obliged to give their conſent to the Terentian law. It was reſolved that ten commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to digeſt a body of laws; that for one year they ſhould be inveſted with ſovereign power, during which time all other magiſtracies, even the tribuneſhip, whoſe authority uſed to continue in the time of the dictators, ſhould ceaſe, and that in them alone the power of making peace or war ſhould be veſted. The tribunes could not get any plebeians admitted into the new body of magiſtrates. Appius Claudius, who was at that time conſul, and ſon of the ſecond Appius who had killed himſelf, was the firſt perſon appointed; and his colleague, with ſome others of conſular dignity, and three ſenators who had been deputed to collect the Grecian laws at Athens, were aſſociated with him.

The ſenate conſent to the Terentian law.

Creation of decemvirs.

FOURTH EPOCHA.

The Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables.

PERPETUAL VARIATION IN THE REPUBLIC.

From the year of Rome three hundred and two, to three hundred and sixty three.

CHAP. I.

From the Creation of Decemvirs, to the Introduction of Censors.

Year of Rome 302 The decemvirs begin with moderation.

WHETHER it proceeded from patriotic sentiments worthy of the great importance of their commission, or that they wanted to secure their authority by a respectable beginning, the decemvirs governed at first like true fathers of their country. Only one of them was attended by the lictors, and had the other ensigns of consular dignity, while the others were not distinguished from the rest of the people, but by their being preceded by a single officer. Each of them presided alternately for one day, and, appearing at their tribunal early in the morning, continued to decide disputes with equal justice and humanity. Even Appius, who had been formerly detested, became the delight of the people; and, after such violent storms, Rome enjoyed a happy tranquillity, to which she had been a stranger ever since the days of monarchy.

Laws of the twelve tables approved by the people

Legislation being the principal object of the new government, the decemvirs applied with great zeal to complete their code. A Grecian exile from Ephesus was employed to explain the laws which were brought from Athens, and a part of the ancient royal ordinances was added to the new compilation. The work being completed,

completed, it was expoſed to the view of the public upon ten tables of oak, and the people were invited to examine them, and to chooſe; in fact to be their own lawgivers. The ſenate paſſed a decree to approve of the laws; the people, who give themſelves but little trouble to examine what they are anxious to obtain, were delighted with the pretended moderation of the decemvirs, and confirmed the ten tables in the aſſembly by centuries. Two other tables, which were offered the next year, notwithſtanding a diſagreeable article which prohibited the patricians from forming alliances with the plebeian families, were likewiſe approved.

Encomium by Cicero.

Theſe different laws always continued to be the ground of the common and civil law of the Romans; upon which Cicero has written a ſplendid encomium. He does not heſitate to alledge, that all the principles upon which the happineſs of ſociety depends, are to be found in the twelve tables; that they are ſuperiour to all the libraries of philoſophers, both from the weight of their authority, and their conſequent advantages. "For," ſays he, "we learn from the ſcience of civil "law, that virtue and honeſty ought to be preferred to "all other conſiderations: on one hand it ſhews true "merit honoured with rewards, glory and dignities; "on the other, vice and injuſtice puniſhed by fines, ig"nominy, impriſonment, ſcourgings, exile and death. "They do not communicate theſe inſtructions by long "fruitleſs diſputes, but with a tone of authority which "teaches us to govern our paſſions, to bridle our de"ſires, to preſerve our own property, without allowing "either the eyes or hands of avarice to glance at or to "ſeize that of our neighbours." (L. 1. *de Orat.* 193.) Such ought to be the effects of legiſlation; but this picture in ſome reſpects is more ſtriking than true.

Some of theſe laws were cruel.

The laws of the twelve tables, of which only a few fragments remain, were clear and accurate, and in that reſpect ſuperiour to thoſe of Solon, though much leſs agreeable to humanity. In ſeveral articles they breathed that tyrannical diſpoſition which the decemvirs did not

long continue to diſſemble. Fathers preſerved abſolute power over their children, and maſters over their ſlaves. Debtors were given up to the inſults of creditors: after the third market day, creditors might cut the body of an inſolvent debtor in pieces, and divide it among them. (This is the common opinion; but is it poſſible to believe that ſuch a wicked law ever exiſted?) Capital puniſhments againſt poets and authors of libels, and ſeveral other cruel regulations, which they were ſoon obliged to mitigate, ſufficiently diſplayed the temper of the legiſlators.

Laws concerning robbers.

They might not only kill the robber who came to ſteal by night, but likewiſe the robber by day, if, when purſued, he attempted to defend himſelf; but the law made it neceſſary that the purſuer ſhould previouſly raiſe the hue and cry. "This is a thing," ſays Monteſquieu, "that the laws which allow men to do themſelves juſtice ought always to require; it is the cry of innocence, which, in the moment of action, calls upon witneſſes, and ſummonſes judges." The thief taken with the ſtolen goods in his poſſeſſion, was to be ſcourged, and if arrived at the age of manhood, to be delivered up to ſlavery; and he who had already concealed what he had ſtolen, to pay double its value. Why this difference?

Upon laſt wills and ſucceſſions

That property might not paſs into another family, the relations on the ſide of the mother were not allowed to ſucceed, but every one might make his will, and chooſe any citizen he pleaſed for his heir, even to the prejudice of his own children; the father, having a right to ſell his children, might, with more reaſon, have a power to diſinherit them. Is not this a ſufficient proof that the Roman laws, which have been ſo highly extolled, were ſubject to enormous abuſes? However, Rome made a great acquiſition when ſhe got a body of laws to ſerve as a fixed rule for the people, and probably they thought that this advantage greatly outweighed ſome inconveniences which they derived from tyrannical regulations.

Two

Two of theſe laws, by ſhortening ſuits, could not fail to produce excellent effects. They ordained that if the parties did not agree, the judge ſhould take cognizance of the cauſe from ſunriſe till midday, and paſs ſentence before ſunſet. As affairs became more numerous and intricate, they were obliged afterwards to allow more time; but the Romans knew nothing of the windings and delays of modern chicanery, which frequently makes iniquity triumph over juſtice, equally ruining both parties, and rendering ſuits at law one of the greateſt ſcourges of ſociety.

Proceſſes inſtantly decided.

It would have been a glorious epocha for the Roman republic, if the decemvirs had only produced the twelve tables, but they ſoon degenerated into tyrants. By fawning and hypocriſy Appius ſucceeded ſo as to get himſelf nominated a ſecond time to that office, which was ſettled only for one year, and to have ſuch colleagues appointed as were agreeable to him. He and his colleagues very ſoon laid aſide the maſk, and proved to be ten tyrants united by mutual engagements, each of them eſcorted by twelve lictors, ſo that the people and the laws were trodden under foot, and ſuch dreadful acts of deſpotiſm exerciſed, that ſome of the principal men of the republic were obliged to fly from the city. At the end of the year the decemvirs kept poſſeſſion of their office, without aſking the conſent of either ſenate or people; as if the twelve tables had eſtabliſhed the right of the ſtrongeſt.

The decemvirs become tyrants.

Such a people as the Romans, jealous of liberty and accuſtomed to look upon death with indifference, could not long ſubmit to violent oppreſſion; and two enormous crimes, committed by the decemvirs, hurried on their deſtruction. They had raiſed troops againſt the Æqui and Volſcians, who, taking the advantage of the weak ſtate in which Rome was at that time, came to lay waſte the Roman territories; and the diſcontented legions ſuffered themſelves to be defeated. Sicinius Dentatus (Livy calls him L. Siccius) one of the braveſt officers, a zealous plebeian, who was equally free in his diſcourſe

Dentatus aſſaſſinated by order of the decemvirs

discourse and intrepid in action, was treacherously assassinated by order of the tyrants; but the wicked attempt of Appius against Virginia rendered them still more execrable.

Outrage of Appius against Virginia.

Appius remained in Rome, while his colleagues were carrying on the war, and fell in love with Virginia, the daughter of Virginius, a valiant plebeian, who had promised her in marriage to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people. After several fruitless attempts to gratify his passion, being resolved to dishonour her, he wanted, in quality of a judge, to seize her person, upon pretence that she was the daughter of a slave of one of his clients, who claimed her as his property. Icilius defended Virginia with all the zeal of a lover, and the people, rising in an uproar, drove Appius from the tribunal; but his power must have soon prevailed, if Virginius, who had been acquainted with the danger of his daughter, had not quitted the camp to fly to her assistance. He arrived, pleaded her cause, and saw the formidable judge about to pronounce sentence against her, when, transported with rage, to save her honour, he plunged his knife into her bosom, and shewing the bloody weapon to Appius—*It is by this blood*, said he, *that I devote thy head to the infernal gods*. Appius in vain ordered him to be seized, for he made his way among the people, whom he inflamed with hatred against the tyrants, and went to inspire the soldiers with a love of liberty and thirst of revenge.

Virginius kills his daughter to save her honour.

Year of Rome 304. Abolition of the decemvirs

When men impatiently suffer oppression, tragical scenes never fail of their effect. Except a few servile souls, the whole people abandoned the decemvirs, and adopted republican sentiments. The two armies joined upon the Sacred Mount, and were followed in crowds by the people; but the senate did not know what part to act, till at length the general outcry compelled the decemvirs to resign, and Valerius and Horatius, their enemies, were deputed with full powers to conclude a peace with the people. The tribuneship, and the right of appeal, which were looked upon as the foundations

of liberty, were reſtored, and the decemvirate aboliſhed, but without any violence being allowed to be offered to the perſons of the decemvirs. Valerius and Horatius were choſen conſuls, and by ſome popular laws which they made, the attachment which the citizens had to them was greatly increaſed. The creation of any office, which debarred the people from the privilege of an appeal, was totally prohibited. They ordered, that laws which were paſſed in the aſſemblies by tribes, ſhould be equally binding upon the whole body of citizens, as thoſe which were made in the aſſemblies by centuries. This law, which was very favourable for the tribunes, could not fail to vex the ſenate; but circumſtances obliged them to give their conſent.

New laws paſſed in favour of the people

Virginius was tribune, and more anxious to puniſh the decemvirs than any of his colleagues. He ſtood forth as the accuſer of Appius, and notwithſtanding there was an appeal made to the people, ſeized his perſon, ſaying that a monſter was not entitled to the protection of the laws, and that he deſerved to be thrown into that priſon which he had inſolently called *The dwelling of the plebeians*. Appius died there before the day of trial, either by a voluntary death, as we are aſſured by Livy, or, according to the conjecture of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, by an order of the tribunes. Oppius, another decemvir, was likewiſe accuſed, and died in the ſame manner. The other eight ſecured themſelves by a voluntary exile; but upon their eſtates being confiſcated, a general amneſty was publiſhed, which diſpelled all apprehenſions.

The decemvirs puniſhed.

It is the misfortune of ſociety, that men ſeldom keep within the limits of juſtice, and that thoſe people who are moſt zealous to puniſh the abuſe of power in others, are the moſt likely to commit the ſame offence, when they get into authority. The tribunes wiſhed to continue in office, and probably would have become as wicked as the decemvirs, if Duilius, one of their colleagues, who was a prudent ſenſible man, and a lover of his country, had not defeated their intention. On the other

The tribunes want to continue in office.

Injuſtice of the ſenate to the popular conſuls

other hand, the ſenate ſhewed themſelves unjuſt, by refuſing a triumph to the conſuls Valerius and Horatius, who had returned conquerors, only becauſe they were diſpleaſed with their popularity. By declining to do juſtice to others, we almoſt always injure ourſelves. The conſuls, provoked at the behaviour of the ſenate, applied to the people, and obtained the honour they required.

Injuſtice of the people in decreeing a territory to themſelves, when choſen arbiters.

But the people, leſs inſtructed, and more apt to run into exceſs, very ſoon diſgraced themſelves by a contemptible act of injuſtice. The Aricians and the Ardeatæ contended for the right to ſome lands, and choſe the Romans as arbiters to decide the diſpute, when an old plebeian declared, that this territory, being dependent on Corioli, was the property of Rome, and adviſed the Romans to take poſſeſſion of it as their own right. In vain did the conſuls repreſent the diſgrace which muſt attend ſuch ſhameful proceedings; that it would deprive the Romans of the eſteem and confidence of other nations, and that in affairs of honour and probity the loſs was invaluable; but the people were deaf to theſe remonſtrances, and the tribes decreed, that the territory belonged to Rome, without once reflecting that they might, one time or another, come to bluſh for the infamous tranſaction, which the ſenate very ſoon attempted to efface by reſtoring the lands.

Year of Rome 308 New diſputes.

Inteſtine broils, which are in ſome degree the perpetual ſcourge of republics, whoſe conſtitution is always unſteady, prevailed in Rome more now than ever. Succeſs always encourages people to become more enterpriſing, and each of the tribunes was anxious at this time to ſignalize himſelf by gaining ſome victory over the ſenate. One of the laws of the twelve tables prohibited marriages between patricians and plebeians, which raiſed an odious barrier betwixt the two orders. The firſt, by being in poſſeſſion of the excluſive privilege to be choſen conſuls, imagined that they were born to command; while the other, by the help of the tribuneſhip, were inceſſantly ſtruggling to reſtore the natural equality.

Canuleius,

Canuleius, a hardy tribune, ſeconded by his colleagues, ſolemnly proteſted that he would oppoſe every attempt to levy troops, until the liberty of intermarrying was reſtored, and even till a law ſhould be paſſed, to entitle plebeians to be elected conſuls as well as the patricians. On the eve of a war, it was neceſſary to ſhew ſome condeſcenſion. The article of marriages was complied with; but from a dread of debaſing the conſular dignity, the ſenators propoſed to create three military tribunes inſtead of conſuls, indifferently from among the patricians or plebeians. The people, having approved of this project, gave a very ſingular proof of their moderation, by electing three patricians to the new dignity. A few months after they reſigned their office, upon pretence that the auſpices had not been favourable. This was undoubtedly a device of the ſenate to put matters upon the former footing, and in fact the conſulſhip was re-eſtabliſhed; for the tribunes had no inducement to obſtruct it, as they ſaw the people were reſolved to give their votes in favour of the patricians, who by their talents and abilities were entitled to the preference.

Liberty for the patricians and plebeians to intermarry.

Three military tribunes inſtead of conſuls.

CHAP. II.

From the Eſtabliſhment of Cenſors to the Baniſhment of Camillus.

FOR ſeventeen years the numbering of the citizens had been omitted, and the interruption of this prudent cuſtom diſturbed the order of government; therefore the conſuls Quintius Capitolinus and M. Geganius thought of reſtoring it, but being oppreſſed with too much buſineſs to be able to diſcharge the duty themſelves, as had been the practice of former conſuls, they introduced a new magiſtracy, to whom this care was to be intruſted. This was the origin of cenſors. Their dignity appeared at firſt to be of ſo little conſequence, that the tribunes did not vouchſafe to contend for

Year of Rome 310 Eſtabliſhment of cenſors.

for it with the patricians, but in a few years it roſe to be almoſt on a level with the conſulſhip. The duty of the cenſors was to watch over the manners of the people, with a power of puniſhing and degrading any citizen, of whatever rank, that ſhould be found offending. The care of the finances, and the ſupport of the public buildings, were intruſted to them; and to this office the glory and proſperity of Rome may in a great degree be aſcribed; for, according to the excellent remark of Monteſquieu, *Bad examples produce worſe conſequences than crimes, and more ſtates have been ruined by infringements of morals, than by a violation of the laws.* By reſtraining vice, the cenſors averted a fatal contagion, which contaminates, diſſolves, and ſooner or later deſtroys, the body politic.

How much their power increaſed.

The office of cenſor was fixed at firſt to continue five years, that is from one *luſtrum* to another, but was ſoon reduced to eighteen months, ſo that there were no cenſors during the remainder of the *luſtrum*. This change was made by the dictator Emilius in three hundred and nineteen; and when the people had given their conſent, he reſigned the dictatorſhip, *To ſhew*, ſaid he, *that offices of long duration are not to my mind.* The two who were cenſors at that time, and certainly unworthy of that rank, revenged themſelves by expunging the name of Emilius from the regiſter of his century, which deprived him of the right of voting, and impoſing a tax upon him of eight times the uſual rate. This great man reſtrained the indignation of the people, which was ready to burſt forth upon the heads of the cenſors. He deſpiſed a mark of ignominy, which was occaſioned by a meritorious deed.

Duration of the cenſorſhip

Injuſtice of the cenſors with reſpect to Emilius.

Rome, perpetually agitated by factions, and always at war with her neighbours, often varied her plans of government. She had new military tribunes, who were afterwards diſplaced by the conſuls. The tribunes of the people renewed their complaints, on account of the offices which were left in the hands of the patricians, and the agrarian law. Hiſtory would become tireſome by the

Variations and diſturbances in the government.

the repetition of theſe uniform details, I therefore omit numbers of them which afford no inſtruction.

The conſul Poſthumius, who had rendered himſelf deteſted by his ſeverity, was ſtoned to death by his ſoldiers, and was the firſt inſtance, from the foundation of Rome, of a general being killed by his army. When morals and diſcipline were at an end, we ſhall ſee that even the blood of the Cæſars could not be ſpared. A general killed by his ſoldiers.

About this time, we find a decree was paſſed in the ſenate, to allow pay to the ſoldiers who ſerved in the infantry, and the people were tranſported with joy upon the occaſion. They had been hitherto obliged to ſerve at their own expenſe, which was the cauſe of their running into debt, and of the miſery and vexations that followed; but now they teſtified the moſt lively gratitude to the ſenators, and declared that from henceforth they would cheerfully ſpill their blood in defence of their country. A ſentiment worthy of ſuch a people.* Year of Rome 347. Pay ſettled for the infantry.

The tribunes, being inclined to take amiſs whatever was done by the ſenate, declaimed againſt this decree with affected zeal. They ſaid, that the pay of the army would become a burden upon the people; that the old ſoldiers would not ſuffer their ſucceſſors to be maintained at their coſt, when they had all along ſerved at their own expenſe; and laſtly, that ſuch innovations would prove fatal to the republic, by obtaining advantages for individuals; and their declamations began to influence ſome of the people; but the patricians having generouſly taxed themſelves, and their example being followed by the rich plebeians, the murmurs ſoon ceaſed; even the poor were willing to contribute, and the ſenate projected greater enterpriſes. Oppoſed by the tribunes, but in vain.

Hitherto their wars were only incurſions into the country of the enemy, and battles which were ſeldom deciſive. A campaign of twenty or thirty days exhauſted Advantages of this inſtitution.

* In the time of Polybius the private foot ſoldier had two oboli a day, the centurion four, and the trooper ſix. He tells us, that the medium price of a buſhel of wheat was four oboli, and was ſufficient to ſerve a ſoldier eight days. If we were only to conſider their maintenance, the pay was very conſiderable; but ſoldiers were not provided at that time with every neceſſary, as they are at preſent.

ed the whole reſources of the troops, and they were obliged to return, without having accompliſhed any thing of conſequence. Their power could only be extended by armies ſupported at the expenſe of the republic. Here then we ſee a remarkable change in their ſyſtem. The eſtabliſhment of armies, ſerving for pay, will be found to make an epocha equally critical in modern monarchies.

Year of Rome 348 Famous ſiege of Veii.

They immediately reſolved upon the ſiege of Veii. This city of Tuſcany, in the neighbourhood of Rome, was exceſſively rich and very ſtrong, and the inhabitants were mortal enemies of the Romans. They attacked this city in a manner of which their hiſtory hitherto has not afforded us any example. They made lines of circumvallation and contravallation, the one to guard againſt ſallies from the city, and the other againſt the attacks of thoſe who came to relieve the beſieged. The military tribunes (for at that time there were no conſuls) intending to paſs the winter in the lines, ordered the ſoldiers to erect barracks, and were the more readily obeyed, as the troops preferred the camp to the city, where their pay would have been immediately withdrawn: but the tribunes of the people made this advantageous ſcheme a ſubject of complaint and abuſe; they exclaimed againſt the generals for having conſpired the deſtruction of the ſoldiers, and making an attempt againſt the liberty of the people; with ſuch a malignant eye are the beſt things ſeen by party ſpirit; but happily they were not credited. The Veians having ſurpriſed the beſiegers, and burnt all their machines, ſo far were the citizens from murmuring at this check, that their zeal on the contrary was redoubled. Rich and poor deſired to ſerve at the ſiege, and declared they would not return till Veii was taken.

Unjuſt complaints of the tribunes againſt the generals.

Camillus takes Veii after a ten years ſiege

A miſunderſtanding among the generals, the caprice of the tribunes of the people, the plague, ſuperſtition, and the efforts of the enemy, all together contributed to protract the war to a great length; but Camillus was choſen dictator, and was worthy of bringing it to a concluſion.

cluſion. As he deſpaired of taking the place by aſſault, he dug a paſſage under ground by which his army could enter the city. When the work was finiſhed, being perſuaded that he would carry the town, he wrote to the ſenate, to know what they choſe to have done with the plunder. After ſome diſputes they agreed that it ſhould be divided among the army, and whoever ſhould go to join them. This was a means of ſuddenly increaſing the army, and while one part attacked the ramparts, the other entered the city by the ſubterranean paſſage, and took it after a ten years ſiege. One of the tribunes propoſed, that a half of the citizens ſhould ſettle there; but Camillus and the ſenate wiſely rejected this propoſal, from an apprehenſion that Rome and Veii would become the capitals of two ſtates; and therefore only divided the lands among ſuch of the people as choſe to form a colony in the country of the Veians.

Year of Rome 357. Scheme to ſettle half of the citizens in Veii.

Some time after they laid ſiege to Falerii, a city of the Faliſci. It is difficult to believe the ſtory that is told of a ſchoolmaſter, who, walking out of the town daily during the ſiege with his ſcholars, at laſt went to the camp of Camillus, and delivered up the youth to that general, whoſe conduct we cannot help applauding, whether the account be well or ill founded. The expreſſion put into his mouth by Livy, is the law of humanity—*Without being united with the Faliſci by treaty, we are and always ſhall be united to them by the law of nature. War has its rules as well as peace, and we know how to carry it on with no leſs juſtice than bravery.* According to the hiſtorian, Camillus ſent the traitor back to the city with his hands tied behind him, and ſcourged with rods by his ſcholars; when the beſieged, being ſtruck with admiration of the diſintereſted virtue of the Romans, immediately ſued for peace.

Falerii taken by the ſame general.

Camillus was in the mean time accuſed by one of the tribunes, of having appropriated part of the plunder of Veii to himſelf. It is true, that after the ſpoils were divided, he had demanded a tenth part to be returned, to accompliſh a vow which was made in honour of Apollo.

Camillus accuſed by one of the tribunes.

A vow which he had made

Apollo. The prieſts had been conſulted upon the ſubject of the vow, which was zealouſly fulfilled, and for which purpoſe the women ſo far concurred, as to ſacrifice their jewels. Rollin makes a reflection upon this occaſion, which poſſibly may miſlead. "The Romans knew," ſaid he, "that a vow is an engagement entered into with "the Deity, and a ſolemn promiſe made to him, from "which nothing can be retrenched; and if it is a crime "to break a promiſe made to them, it is a ſacrilegious "impiety to fail with reſpect to God." Ought not this pious writer to have added, that great abuſes may ariſe from vows inſpired by ſuperſtition; that in ſuch a caſe they ought not to be held in ſuch eſtimation, and that the Romans would have deſerved greater praiſe if their piety had been better founded? Their miſtaken religion frequently obliged them to fulfil vows, which an enlightened underſtanding would have prevented them from making.

He goes into voluntary exile.

Let what will have been the vow of Camillus, the people were provoked, not only at his having deprived them of a part of the plunder, but likewiſe at his having triumphed in too inſolent a manner. To prevent an iniquitous ſentence, Camillus baniſhed himſelf, while he prayed to the gods, according to ſome authors, that his ungrateful country might regret the loſs of him. When Ariſtides was leaving Athens to go into baniſhment, he begged the contrary. If the Grecian diſplayed a virtuous diſpoſition ſuperiour to the Roman, Rome at leaſt equalled Athens in injuſtice. As Cicero obſerves, ſuperiour merit was always expoſed to perſecution in the ancient republics. *Let no one have ſuperiour merit with us*, ſaid the Epheſians when they baniſhed Hermodorus; *if a man thinks himſelf eminent, let him go to another country*. (Tuſc. 5.) That abſurd expreſſion diſplays a ſentiment which was at that time very common; but neceſſity made them regret the loſs of men of abilities. Rome very ſoon became ſenſible that the want of Camillus could not be ſupplied.

Great men perſecuted in the ancient republics.

FIFTH

FIFTH EPOCHA.

Rome taken by the Gauls.

PROGRESS OF THE ROMANS IN ITALY.

From the year of Rome three hundred and ſixty three, to four hundred and ſeventy one.

CHAP. I.

Irruption of the Gauls into Italy.—The taking of Rome.—Laws of Licinius, &c.

Irruption of the Gauls into Italy.

THE Gauls who inhabited the country lying between the Seine and Garonne, as far as the Alps, which was called Celtic Gaul, had made an incurſion into Italy in the time of the firſt Tarquin, and returned frequently after in ſearch of ſettlements. To them is aſcribed the founding of Mediolanum, Comum, Brixia, Cremona, and ſome other cities. In the year of Rome three hundred and ſixty two, a new ſwarm of theſe barbarians, enticed by Aruns of Cluſium in Tuſcany, to whom his fellow citizens had refuſed to do juſtice, arrived in Italy. It is ſaid that the Italian wines were the allurements which he offered to the Gauls, to perſuade them to eſpouſe his cauſe. Having laid ſiege to Cluſium, the inhabitants implored aſſiſtance from Rome; and though the ſenate had no particular inducement to make them interfere in the fate of the Tuſcans, they ſent three young patricians to negociate a peace; but the imprudence of theſe ambaſſadours made the ſtorm fall upon Rome herſelf.

Cluſium begs aſſiſtance from Rome.

The Roman ambaſſadours violate the law of nations.

They deſired to know of Brennus, the chief of the Gauls, by what right he invaded Tuſcany; to which he replied, that the Cluſians, having lands of which they made no uſe, unjuſtly refuſed them to the Gauls, who had as much right to them as the Romans had to thoſe of which they had taken poſſeſſion; that every thing

was

was the property of the brave, who derived their right from the ſword. Theſe reaſons give a faithful picture of the character of a people to whom they were familiar. The ambaſſadours, diſſembling their indignation, deſired that they might have leave to enter the town, on pretence of holding a conference with the beſieged; but, inſtead of recommending a peace, they put themſelves at the head of the Cluſians, and fought againſt the Gauls.

Brennus demands ſatisfaction in vain.

Brennus immediately marched to Rome, and ſent a herald to demand ſatisfaction, and to require that the guilty might be delivered up to his vengeance. The ſenate in perplexity left the affair to the deciſion of the people, who, far from diſapproving of what had been done by the ambaſſadours, choſe them military tribunes for the following year. This could not fail to irritate the Gauls, who haſtened their march, declaring that now they would have to do only with the Romans.

Year of Rome 363 Battle of Allia followed by the taking of Rome.

The Romans, governed by ſix military tribunes, without conſuls, went to meet the enemy with a very inferiour force, which was ſtill weaker from a total relaxation of military diſcipline. Even the number of their generals was a ſufficient obſtruction; and, without almoſt ſtriking a ſtroke, they were defeated at the battle of Allia. They had omitted to conſult the augurs, which the politics of the ſenate had rendered reſpectable in the eyes of a ſuperſtitious people; and undoubtedly it was a cauſe of the ſoldiers being diſheartened. Rome was filled with fear and conſternation; the old men, women and children fled to the neighbouring cities, while the youth ſhut themſelves up in the Capitol, being reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity. Four-

The old ſenators devote themſelves to death.

ſcore illuſtrious ſenators by a vow devoted themſelves to death: a patriotic conſecration, to which they had annexed an idea that it would terrify the enemy. The Gauls arrived, and maſſacred theſe venerable men, ſitting immovable in their curule chairs. They then attacked the Capitol, but being repulſed, ſet fire to the city. It was upon this occaſion that the ancient hiſtorical monuments were deſtroyed. If

If Camillus had preferred the wretched gratifications of revenge to the duties of a citizen, Rome would have been ruined beyond all remedy; but, always animated with a love of his country, and perhaps with a deſire of commanding the Romans, he perſuaded the Ardeatæ, with whom he lived in exile, to take arms againſt the Gauls, a part of whom were employed in laying waſte the country in the neighbourhood of Rome, and he cut a detachment of them in pieces. Upon this advantage being gained, the Romans took courage, and entreated him to aſſume the command. Being convinced that the ſupreme power was lodged in the hands of thoſe who defended the Capitol, he inſiſted upon having their conſent. A young plebeian undertook to execute this dangerous meſſage, and returned to acquaint Camillus that he was choſen dictator. Camillus recalled & choſen dictator.

Manlius, who had formerly been conſul, ſaved the Capitol when attacked in the night by the Gauls. The ſtory of the geeſe being more watchful than dogs, and giving the alarm to Manlius, may be doubted; but it is certain, that from that time geeſe were honoured in Rome; whereas the dogs were deteſted and even puniſhed, for one was publicly impaled every year. Theſe trifles kept up the idea, in the minds of a ſuperſtitious people, that Heaven miraculouſly interpoſed for the preſervation of the republic. As geeſe were conſecrated to Juno, ſhe undoubtedly made uſe of their cries for the preſervation of Rome. The Capitol ſaved by Manlius. The fable of the geeſe.

The circumſtances which followed have little more probability. After a blockade of ſeven months, according to Livy, and the generality of hiſtorians, both beſiegers and beſieged being equally dejected with want and diſeaſes, they met to hold a conference, when Brennus demanded a thouſand pounds weight of gold, and the Romans, upon theſe terms, conſented to purchaſe a diſhonourable peace. The ſum was brought by Sulpicius, who complained that the Gauls uſed falſe ſcales; upon which Brennus added his ſword to the weight, exclaiming, *Wo to the conquered.* Camillus, arriving at that inſtant, Improbable circumſtances told about the preſervation of Rome.

inſtant, as dictator, broke the agreement. *It is with iron, and not with gold*, cried he, *that Romans muſt be redeemed.* They inſtantly engaged, when the Gauls were entirely cut in pieces, ſo that there was not a ſingle man left to carry home the news of their diſaſter.

Contradictory account of Polybius.

Independent of the marvellous, which makes this account much to be doubted, the relation of it as given by Polybius does not allow us to give credit to it. He tells us that the Gauls accommodated matters with the Romans, and gave up their city to fly to the defence of their own country, which was attacked by the Veneti. How came ſuch an uſeful and important remark to eſcape the authors of the Engliſh Univerſal Hiſtory, which, notwithſtanding his little turn for criticiſm, did not eſcape Rollin?

The city rebuilt, but without order.

Rome was rebuilt in one year, like a village without regularity, and the common ſewers were found even under private houſes. Far from making any progreſs in the arts, the Romans ſeem rather to have declined, from the time that republican government was eſtabliſhed: more tranquil under monarchy, they might undoubtedly have been able to execute ſome finer works; but, accuſtomed to be led by the preſent conjuncture, order never could prevail.

Manlius accuſed of aiming at tyranny.

Manlius, who had ſaved the Capitol, a patrician diſtinguiſhed by his ſervices, who had deſerved and obtained thirty ſeven military rewards, civic, mural and other crowns (for one of the great inſtruments of Roman policy was to excite valour by making it reſpected) it is ſaid, aimed at obtaining ſovereign power. He ſupported and ſtirred up the plebeians againſt the nobles, paid the debts of the poor, delivered them from their creditors, and made uſe of the dangerous talent of flattery, that he might gain the minds of the people, to bring them afterwards into ſubjection; but, like many others, he was himſelf the victim of his ambition. Coſſus being choſen dictator by the ſenate, he cauſed Manlius to be ſeized; and ſuch was the authority of a dictator that no one dared to offer the leaſt obſtruction.

When

When Coſſus reſigned his office, Manlius, being ſet at liberty, renewed his intrigues, and was accuſed before the people. Hiſtorians tell us, that on purpoſe to obtain a ſentence againſt him, the aſſembly of the people was obliged to be held out of the Campus Martius, in a place from whence the Capitol could not be ſeen, ſo much did that object impreſs the people in his favour; and he was thrown headlong even from the Tarpeian rock. The people repented and regretted what they had done, believing that Jupiter in anger revenged his death by ſending a plague, which began ſoon after he had ſuffered. Year of Rome 370 He is put to death.

Melius, a Roman knight, ſeveral years before this (three hundred and fourteen) was ſuſpected of aiming at tyranny, becauſe he had diſtributed corn to the people in the time of a famine. Cincinnatus, at that time very old, was choſen dictator; and Servilius, his general of horſe, killed Melius with his own hand, after he had been reſcued from the lictor by the populace. The dictator congratulated Servilius on having delivered his country from a tyrant. Such inſtances, which are very frequent in the Roman hiſtory, ſerve, perhaps, as much to prove the reſtleſs jealouſy of the ſenate, as their hatred of royalty. Whoever ſhewed himſelf a friend of the people, always occaſioned jealouſy in the patricians; and I much queſtion their being ſcrupulous about the proofs of tyranny, which made them put to death ſo many illuſtrious citizens. The inſtance of the Gracchi, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention, will ſtrengthen this conjecture; but let us reſume the thread of our hiſtory. A ſimilar inſtance of Melius which happened on a former occaſion.

The trivial wars with the neighbours of Rome were renewed; but the only objects worthy of our attention, are the domeſtic diſſenſions, and the alterations which they produced in the mode of government. An advantage which had always been diſputed with the people, was about to be obtained for them by the vanity of a woman. Two daughters of Fabius Ambuſtus, a patrician, were married, the one to a military tribune, the other to a rich plebeian. The wife of the plebeian, being The vanity of a woman brings about very important conſequences

one day at her ſiſter's, and ſeeing the reſpect that was ſhewn to her as the wife of one of the chiefs of the ſtate, was ſeized with vexation at being confounded with the crowd. She appeared melancholy wherever ſhe went; and her father, anxious to know the cauſe, at laſt wreſted the ſecret from her: *You have married me*, ſaid ſhe, *into a family which is excluded from ſharing the honours of the republic. What a difference between my ſiſter's ſituation and mine!* Fabius loved her tenderly, and promiſed that ſhe ſhould be ſatisfied.

Year of Rome 377. Laws of Licinius contrary to the intereſts of the ſenate.

Experience never could bring a better proof of great effects being produced from ſmall cauſes. The thoughts of the father were ſolely employed on finding the means of gratifying his daughter. Her huſband, Licinius, and Sextius, a young plebeian of uncommon merit, joined in his views, and, having got themſelves elected tribunes of the people, propoſed ſome laws which were entirely contrary to the intereſt of the ſenate. They wanted the military tribuneſhips to be aboliſhed, the conſuls reſtored, and from that time forward one of the conſuls to be a plebeian. To obtain this law, they added two others ſtill more terrible to the patricians: the firſt was, that all the intereſt which had been already paid, ſhould be deducted from the principal of the debts, and that the remainder ſhould be diſcharged by three equal payments from one year to another: the ſecond was, that no citizen ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred jugera of land, and that the overplus ſhould be divided among the poor who had no property.

The tribunes diſagree among themſelves.

It is eaſy to conceive how theſe laws diſturbed the ſenate, and heated the minds of the people. Diſcord revived, cabals increaſed, and all was confuſion and uproar. The patricians had recourſe to policy, and gained over the reſt of the tribunes, who by a ſingle word ſtopped the deliberations, and prevented the ſuffrages from being collected. Licinius and Sextius, employing the ſame weapons againſt their colleagues, prevented the election of magiſtrates; and, continuing ſtill in office, renewed the ſame obſtructions for five years together,

Anarchy of five years.

together, ſo that the republic fell into downright anarchy. A war with the people of Velitræ made them ſenſible of the neceſſity of chooſing leaders; and ſix military tribunes, as formerly, were ſet at the head of affairs. Velitræ was beſieged, but that did not prevent diſſenſions at Rome.

Licinius and Sextius, being choſen tribunes of the people for the eighth time, were the more formidable to their opponents, as they ſet in motion every ſpring that can affect the human heart. They preſſed the nobles with interrogatories, to which they could not reply but by wounding the minds of the people. "Is it juſt "that you ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred jugera "of land, while the greateſt part of the plebeians have "no more than two, in which they have ſcarce room "to build themſelves a cottage and a tomb? Muſt "the people, oppreſſed with debts, forever languiſh in "chains, and the houſe of every patrician become a "priſon? Can the Roman people think themſelves "freed from the yoke of royalty, while they continue "to groan under the tyranny of the nobles? Is there "any remedy for theſe evils, but to divide the conſu-"lar power between the plebeians and patricians?" The people greedily catched at theſe reaſons, but the tribunes were divided; yet Licinius and Sextius ſhewed that they were reſolved to overcome every oppoſition. In ſuch a critical ſituation the ſenate ſaw the neceſſity of chooſing a dictator, and appointed Camillus, who, ſince the deliverance of Rome, had ſignalized himſelf by gaining a number of other victories.

Licinius and Sextius incenſe the people againſt the ſenate.

As that great man found that he could not bring the tribunes to obey, he ſuddenly reſigned the dictatorſhip; but though he was fourſcore years of age, he was elected to that dignity a fifth time, becauſe the Gauls were returning to attack Rome. The cutting ſwords of the Gauls, being handled both with ſkill and ſtrength, were one of the main cauſes of their victory at Allia; the dictator, therefore, to prevent them from the ſame advantages, gave the Romans helmets of braſs, bucklers covered

Camillus choſen dictator for the fifth time

He defeats the Gauls.

covered with plates of iron, and long ſpears, to prevent the ſtrokes of the ſword. He defeated the Gauls, received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of Velitræ, was honoured with a triumph, and was obliged to contend with the tribunes.

Year of Rome 386. The dictator inſulted at Rome, becauſe the dictatorſhip was become too common.

However much they reſpected the perſon of Camillus, the dictatorſhip, by being too common, no longer impreſſed the minds of the people with that dread and veneration which it had done formerly. Objects which men are accuſtomed to ſee, grow familiar; and it is an engregious fault to be laviſh of that which, to be uſeful, muſt be uncommon. As the place where the public aſſemblies met was almoſt become a field of battle, Sextius and Licinius were ſo daring as to inſult the dictator. One of their officers preſumed to lay hold of him, but was beaten off by the patricians. Camillus marched to the Capitol, and made a vow to build a temple to Concord, when the public tranquillity ſhould be reſtored. The ſenate at laſt found themſelves obliged to yield to the people, and to allow them to chooſe a plebeian conſul. All the proceedings of the tribunes aimed at this point, and were only employed as means to obtain it; but, however, the law which limited poſſeſſions to five hundred jugera, was at the ſame time accepted.

CHAP. II.

The Plebeians admitted to the Conſulſhip.—The Eſtabliſhment of a Prætor and Curule Ediles.—War with the Campanians, and Latins, &c.

Plebeian conſul.

THE conſular dignity was now conferred upon a new man, by the plebeians having choſen Sextius the tribune. Notwithſtanding the prejudices of the nobles, it was for the advantage of the republic, that merit could raiſe plebeians to the higheſt honours of the ſtate. Camillus obtained from the people, as if in exchange, that a new office ſhould be inſtituted, to which only

only patricians ſhould be eligible, which was called the prætorſhip. The conſuls being often engaged in war, and unable to adminiſter juſtice, the prætor (for at firſt there was only one) was intruſted with this eſſential duty of government. At the ſame time two patrician or *curule* ediles were created, whoſe duty was to take care of the temples, theatres, games, public ſquares, the walls of the city, &c. &c.

Creation of a prætor and curule ediles.

The curule offices, ſo called becauſe they who bore them had a privilege of being carried in an ivory chair, were the conſulſhip, cenſorſhip, dictatorſhip, prætorſhip, and this new office of edile. They entitled the deſcendants of thoſe who had enjoyed them to the rank of nobility; thus a difference was made between *noble* and *patrician*. Vanity, always ingenious in contriving diſtinctions, made one likewiſe between the noble patricians and the noble plebeians.

Nobility attached to the curule offices.

Camillus, *that ſingularly excellent man, either in good or bad fortune*, as Livy called him, was carried off by the plague; which put a total ſtop to the rejoicings of the people. According to the natural bias of the human race, people in diſmay give themſelves up to ſuperſtition, but at this time it had loſt its former auſterity. It is alledged that ſuperſtition inſtituted the ſcenical games, or theatrical repreſentations, to appeaſe the offended gods; and likewiſe reſtored the ceremony of the *lectiſternium*, which had been twice performed already, and conſiſted in ſetting up beds in the temples, into which the ſtatues of the gods and goddeſſes were put, to whom a feaſt was ſerved up, though it was eaten by men.

The ſcenical games & the lectiſternium eſtabliſhed by ſuperſtition

As all this was not ſufficient to deliver them from the plague, it was propoſed by ſome old men to renew an ancient cuſtom long diſcontinued, of driving a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, accompanied with a ſolemn ceremony; and for which purpoſe it was neceſſary to chooſe a dictator. Manlius Imperioſus was nominated, and drove the ſacred nail. It had been a cuſtom, from ignorance of numeral characters, both in Tuſcany and Rome, to mark the number of years

A dictator choſen to drive the ſacred nail.

with

with nails, which was performed by the conſul, and undoubtedly it was from thence that the fantaſtical idea of attaching ſo much importance to ſuch a trifle was derived. Nothing is incredible of ſuperſtition, particularly among the Romans.

Action of young Manlius to ſave his father when accuſed.

Manlius, haughty and ſevere, would have made a bad uſe of his power as dictator, if the tribunes of the people had not obliged him to reſign ſoon after the ceremony. Afterwards one of them accuſed him of oppreſſing the citizens, and even his own ſon, whom he obliged to work in the country like a ſlave becauſe of a defect in his ſpeech; but his ſon, being informed of the accuſation, forgot the cruelty of his father, and coming to Rome, haſtened to the houſe of the tribune, where, preſenting a dagger to his throat, he compelled him to ſwear that he would not continue the proſecution. The people approved an action which proceeded from filial affection, though in other reſpects reprehenſible.

Wonderful ſtories which are not worthy of notice.

I ſhall not ſtop to deſcribe the ſingle combat between Manlius Torquatus and a giant of the Gauls, whom he ſtript of a gold collar after he had killed him, in preſence of both armies; nor a ſimilar engagement of Valerius Corvus, who was ſaid to have been aſſiſted by a raven that perched upon his helmet; nor the miracle of the gulph into which Curtius threw himſelf headlong becauſe the augurs had declared that it would cloſe when what they had of the greateſt value was thrown into it; nor other facts of the ſame kind, which have either been invented or exaggerated by national pride. I haſten to that period when we ſhall give the hiſtory of the Punic war, and in the mean time ſhall only collect ſuch matter as will afford proper ſubjects for reflection.

Plebeian conſul defeated.

The Roman valour was continually employed in carrying on new wars. Genucius, the plebeian conſul, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by the Hernici, when his army forſook him, and he was killed in the field; upon which the patricians exclaimed againſt the new law, as if a general taken from the body of the plebeians could not fail to be defeated; however, Licinius was a ſecond time choſen conſul, and was not defeated. His

His laws had made him hated by the nobility, and, by infringing them, he brought a juſt accuſation againſt himſelf. Inſtead of only five hundred jugera of land, he poſſeſſed more than a thouſand, but, to evade the law, had made a pretended reſignation of one half to his ſon, having already emancipated him. When he was out of office, the fraud was proved, and he was condemned to pay a fine.

Licinius infringes his own law about the five hundred jugera.

Avarice is always ingenious to get rid of the fetters impoſed on it by law. If the holding property in common be not firmly eſtabliſhed as it was at Sparta, it ſeems impoſſible to have it confined within narrow limits. The Romans conſtantly acquiring lands, and having a power to diſpoſe of their property by will, the Licinian law of courſe muſt fall to the ground. The intereſt of money was fixed at one *per cent.* but that was only a means of rouſing the deſires of uſury. Ten years after, the intereſt was again lowered one half.

It was to be expected that avarice would evade this law.

Reduction of intereſt.

Rutilus, a plebeian dictator, having defeated the Tuſcans, the jealous patricians became more deſirous to recover their ancient prerogatives. They ſucceeded ſo as to keep the conſulſhip for ſome years in their own body: but the people complained; diſſenſions were renewed; and it was neceſſary to ſatisfy the plebeians, who thereby opened to themſelves the way to the cenſorſhip. The power of creating ſenators being transferred from the conſuls to the cenſors, greatly increaſed the authority of that office.

An attempt to wreſt the conſulſhip out of the hands of the plebeians; they likewiſe obtain the cenſorſhip

A terrible war was kindled between the Romans and Samnites, who had already attacked, and were upon the point of reducing the Campanians, an effeminate people, whoſe capital, the famous city of Capua, trembled at the approach of the enemy. The Campanians implored the protection of Rome; but were told, that as the republic was united by a ſolemn treaty with the Samnites, it could not be broken. To remove this obſtacle, they yielded themſelves to the Romans, who received them with open arms: upon which, ambaſſadours were

Year of Rome 410 The Campanians ſubmit to the Romans to obtain protection from the Samnites.

were ſent to deſire that the Samnites would not meddle with a country dependent on Rome, and with inſtructions to aſſume the language of threatening, if entreaties did not avail. The indignation of the Samnites burſt forth by laying waſte the country of Campania, and war was immediately declared by the Romans.

The army debauched at Capua.

The fate of the war turned in favour of the party moſt accuſtomed to conquer; but woful experience had already ſhewn that auſtere manners, ſo neceſſary to a republic, were not proof againſt contagion. The Roman ſoldiers, ſeduced by the pleaſures of Capua, entered into an infamous plot to drive out the Campanians, and take poſſeſſion of their country. Rutilus, the conſul, having prevented the effects of this plot, a number of the conſpirators marched againſt Rome. This was a moſt unheard of outrage, and Valerius Corvus was choſen dictator to ſtop its progreſs; which he effected without bloodſhed, by perſuading the mutineers to lay down their arms. The Samnites being defeated, they ſued for peace, and renewed their alliance with Rome.

Revolt of the Campanians & Latins.

The Latins in the mean time wanted either to ſhake off the yoke, or be admitted to ſhare the firſt honours of Rome, and joined the Campanians and ſome others in the revolt. The two conſuls, Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, ſignalized themſelves in the courſe of this war. Decius, upon ſeeing the Romans give ground, devoting himſelf to the infernal gods, and ruſhing into the midſt of the Latin army, died a victim to ſave his country. Manlius had condemned his own ſon to death for fighting without his orders, and gained a complete victory, which may be aſcribed to the enthuſiaſm with which the ſoldiers are animated by ſuch examples. Several years after, during a war with Pyrrhus, the ſon of Decius devoted himſelf as his father had done, and with the ſame ſucceſs to the army. Theſe remarkable actions, ſo likely to affect credulous minds, almoſt always ſucceed, while ſuperſtition prevails.

Decius devotes himſelf to the infernal gods.

Severity of Manlius to his ſon.

The Latins admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens.

The Latins being at laſt reduced, Camillus, the conſul, grandſon of the famous dictator, to attach them to

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the ſtate, and to increaſe the number of citizens, recommended their being admitted to the privileges of Romans. *The ſole means of eſtabliſhing a firm dominion*, ſaid he, *is to act in ſuch a manner as ſhall make the people happy in obeying*. This prudent policy contributed more than every thing elſe to increaſe the Roman power. The ſenate followed their old maxims, but made a difference according to the greater or leſs degrees of guilt among the conquered. Several of the Latin ſtates were admitted to the rights of the city, while others had part of their lands taken from them. Velitræ was razed to the ground becauſe it had frequently revolted. The Campanians were plundered, and colonies ſent to different places. Rome derived great advantage from her late victories, which foreboded the conqueſt of all Italy.

The moſt guilty are puniſhed.

Privernum, a Volſcian city, revolted ſome time after, and was ſoon reduced. It was debated in what manner the priſoners ſhould be treated; a number of the ſenators thought that they deſerved to be put to death; but the ſpirited, noble reply of one of the inhabitants ſaved the whole. He was aſked what puniſhment he thought his fellow citizens deſerved? *That which men deſerve who think themſelves worthy of liberty*, anſwered he. But if you are pardoned, added Plautius the conſul, how will you behave? *Our behaviour*, replied the priſoner, *depends upon yours. If you grant us equitable terms, we will remain faithful; but if you impoſe harſh and unjuſt conditions, our fidelity will be but of ſhort duration.* The Romans thought nobly, and on this occaſion looked upon theſe men, who were jealous of liberty, as worthy of their republic, and admitted them as fellow citizens.

Bold reply of a Privernian.

The Romans admire and pardon the rebels

At a time when the glory of Rome increaſed with her power, a hundred and ſeventy women (according to ſome, three hundred and ſeventy) were convicted of having prepared poiſon for their huſbands, when an epidemic diſorder was prevailing, and eſcaped puniſhment by poiſoning themſelves. That crime was ſo little known, that they had no law againſt poiſoners. The plot was aſcribed

Pretended conſpiracy of women againſt their huſbands.

aſcribed to a kind of madneſs, and believed to be a ſcourge ſent from heaven; a dictator was therefore choſen to drive the ſacred nail in the temple of the Capitol. Livy durſt not certify ſuch an improbable fact. The moſt corrupt city in the world could ſcarce have been guilty of ſuch a frenzy. Rome was not immoral.

Law to forbid impriſonment for debt.

The people ſtill continued to ſuffer from the cruelty of their creditors. By a law of the Twelve Tables they had a power to ſeize the perſons of inſolvent debtors, and to keep them in ſlavery, till they had diſcharged their debts by their ſervices. Publilius, a young plebeian, having devoted himſelf to this ſlavery to relieve his father, was unworthily treated by the creditor, from whom he therefore made his eſcape, and laid his complaint before the aſſembly of the people; upon which the ſenate paſſed a decree, whereby creditors were prohibited from putting debtors in chains, whoſe property and not their perſons ſhould be reſponſible for their debts. This law, ſo important to liberty, was confirmed by the aſſembly of the people; but it was not always reſpected by the inſatiable cravings of avarice.

CHAP. III.

War with the Samnites.—Appius choſen Cenſor.—Plebeians admitted to the Prieſthood.

Papirius wants to puniſh Fabius for having conquered againſt his orders.

THE Samnites had again taken up arms, and were defeated by Fabius, general of the horſe, in the abſence, and contrary to the orders, of Papirius the dictator, who repaired to the camp to puniſh him for diſobedience, and ordered the lictors to ſtrip him, and prepare the rods and axes; but the army oppoſing the puniſhment, Fabius fled for ſhelter to Rome, where his father appealed from the ſentence of the dictator to the people. Papirius pleaded againſt them, inſiſted upon the military laws, and the neceſſity of preſerving ſubordination inviolable, and quoted the examples of Brutus and Manlius. The people, not daring to pronounce a-

againſt

gainſt him, joined to implore his clemency; and the family of the Fabii, throwing themſelves at his feet, begged for mercy. In ſuch caſe the ſeverity of the laws might be ſoftened without an injury to diſcipline; the prudent dictator therefore made uſe of his abſolute authority, to pronounce pardon.

Year of Rome 437. The Romans diſgraced by the Samnites at the ſtraits of Caudium.

The Romans, vain of having gained ſo many victories, thought the diſgrace which they ſuffered at the ſtraits of Caudium intolerable. This was a defile near Caudium, into which they were drawn by a ſtratagem of Pontius the general of the Samnites, and found themſelves ſhut up as in a priſon. Pontius was adviſed by his father, either to behave to them with generoſity, or to maſſacre every man of them; but he choſe to take a worſe ſtep, which was to make them paſs under the yoke, and to diſmiſs them, upon the conſuls giving their word that the war ſhould be ended. By this means he left them the power of being revenged for the affront.

Device of the conſul Poſthumius to renew the war.

The hearts of the ſoldiers were preyed upon by ſilent rage, and the ignominy they had ſuffered raiſed anger rather than conſternation in the city. The ſenate declared that the Roman people were not to be bound by treaties made without their orders. Poſthumius, the conſul who had concluded it, deſired to be delivered up with the other officers, that the republic might be freed from all obligations. That good faith which has been ſo much praiſed in the Romans, did not appear to advantage on this occaſion. Poſthumius, as had been previouſly agreed upon, ſtruck the herald, who delivered him up, and cried out—*Now I am a Samnite, and you are the ambaſſadour of Rome; I have violated the laws of nations, and Rome may go to war.* Pontius, juſtly provoked at ſuch a mean artifice, refuſed to deliver the priſoners that were in his poſſeſſion; ſo that both parties prepared for a bloody war.

The Romans are revenged.

During the many years which this war laſted, the Samnites were conſtantly defeated, and ſuffered irreparable loſſes. Pontius, their general, was led in triumph to Rome with

with his hands tied behind him, and ſo far from being reſpected for his valour, was barbarouſly beheaded. Four and twenty triumphs, which the Romans celebrated for victories gained over their enemies, coſt a great deal of blood, and the ſenate at laſt hearkened to propoſals for a treaty of peace, when the conſul Curius Dentatus, who was much more reſpectable on account of his virtues than his high rank, was intruſted with drawing up the articles. This great man, who preferred a life of poverty, was eating his repaſt out of a wooden diſh, when the Samnite ambaſſadours came to beg an audience, and offered him a conſiderable ſum of money to procure his intereſt in their favour. *My poverty*, ſaid he, *undoubtedly made you expect to corrupt my honour; but I love rather to command thoſe who have gold, than to be myſelf the owner.* If there is pride in this expreſſion, it is the pride of a noble ſoul. After a war of forty nine years a treaty of alliance was concluded, though it is not known what were the terms.

Curius Dentatus incorruptible.

Year of Rome 463 Treaty of alliance with the Samnites.

Several other Italian ſtates, particularly the Galli Senones, who had ſettled upon the coaſt of the Adriatic, were obliged, about the ſame time, to ſubmit to the Roman power. In fifty five days the Æqui loſt no leſs than forty one towns, which were undoubtedly for the moſt part only large villages. The Romams reckoned at this time two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand citizens able to bear arms; ſo that Rome might be expected to execute very great undertakings.

Other nations of Italy ſubdued.

Some remarkable changes happened during this epocha. Appius Claudius, who was cenſor in the year four hundred and forty one, and was continued for five years, but was moſt remarkable for having conſtructed an aqueduct ſeven miles long, and for the Appian way, which reached as far as Capua, ſhewed himſelf the enemy of the ſenate as much as his anceſtors had been violent in aſſerting their prerogatives. He admitted the ſons of freed men into the ſenate, which was an abuſe they ſoon ſuppreſſed. This ſame cenſor diſtributed ſome of the lower people of the city into all the tribes, ſo that, by having

Cenſorſhip of Appius.

Sons of freed men admitted into the ſenate.

having the majority of votes, he made himſelf maſter of their deciſions; but the famous general Fabius, being elected cenſor, very ſoon remedied this diſorder; for the whole populace were immediately ſettled in the four tribes of the city, ſo that their votes could not weigh down the ſcale. This uſeful reformation procured him the ſurname of Maximus, which was handed down to his poſterity; he had not gained ſo much honour by all his victories and triumphs. It muſt be allowed that a wholeſome law may procure advantages greatly ſuperiour to victories.

The lowest of the people into all the tribes

Fabius reduces the populace to the four tribes of the city.

The patricians always kept the prieſthood in their poſſeſſion; an important prerogative among a ſuperſtitious people, who were to be led by auſpices and religious ceremonies. Two tribunes of the people, both of the name of Ogulnius, attacked the patricians upon this head, and cauſed four pontiffs and five augurs to be created from the body of the plebeians.

The plebeians admitted to the prieſthood.

Flavius, the ſon of a freed man, having become curule edile a few years before this time, and being deſpiſed by the nobles on account of his birth, revenged himſelf by publiſhing the *faſti* (calendars) and the formulary of the laws. The pontiffs made a great myſtery of them, to ſupport their own power, and it was only through them that the proper days for pleading could be known, or the neceſſary forms that were required in carrying on proceſſes: they therefore endeavoured to keep the people dependent, by keeping them in ignorance, which is the very ſame as we formerly obſerved to be the practice of the prieſts in Aſia, Egypt, &c. This zeal for the intereſt of their order would not have been ſo ardent at Rome, where the prieſts were more truly citizens, if it had not been that the nobility looked upon the prieſthood as part of their excluſive privileges, and an inſtrument by which they might be maintained or extended.

The faſti and the formulary publiſhed by Flavius in hatred to the nobility.

SIXTH

SIXTH EPOCHA.

War with Pyrrhus.

Followed by the Punic War.

THE ROMANS BECOME FORMIDABLE OUT OF ITALY.

From the year of Rome four hundred and seventy one, to five hundred and fifty two.

CHAP. I.

War with the Tarentines.—Pyrrhus defeated in Italy.—Particular Anecdotes.

BY continual wars, and ſubduing her neighbours, Rome paved the way for greater conqueſts; and the time was now at hand, when, led by ambition, ſhe was to ſhine in a new ſphere. There was but a ſingle ſpark wanting to kindle that flame which ſucceſſively ſet on fire every part of the known world; and we now come to ſhew its origin and progreſs.

Year of Rome 471 The Tarentines inſult the Romans and call Pyrrhus to their aid.

Among the cities of Magna Græcia, ſituated on the ſouth coaſts of Italy, Tarentum, a colony from Sparta, was moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed by her wealth, luxury, pride and voluptuouſneſs. The Tarentines deteſted the Romans as dreadful conquerors, and deſpiſed them as barbarians; they had already, in private, begun to ſet ſome ſprings in motion againſt them, and at laſt provoked them in a manner which it was impoſſible to forgive. Having inſulted ſome Roman galleys that had anchored in their port, they completed the outrage, by affronting the ambaſſadours who were ſent to demand ſatisfaction. One of them even made water upon the robe of Poſthumius, who was of conſular dignity and chief of the embaſſy, and the people applauded with loud peals of laughter. *Laugh now*, cried Poſthumius, *you will weep by and by. The ſtain upon my habit will be waſhed*

waſhed in your blood. The Tarenteens were intoxicated at the time of their committing this exceſs, and very ſoon began to dread the conſequence; they therefore applied for aſſiſtance to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, one of the greateſt warriors of Greece, and formed under the generals of Alexander.

Ambition of the king of Epirus.

This prince, who was as brave and as ambitious as Alexander, ſhut up in a ſmall obſcure kingdom, wanted only to ſignalize himſelf by bold enterpriſes, from whence he expected to derive eminent advantages. His miniſter, the famous Cyneas, a diſciple of Demoſthenes in eloquence, a profound politician and able general, fruitleſsly repreſented to him that he was purſuing chimerical happineſs, and that he would enjoy much greater felicity by making a prudent uſe of what he already poſſeſſed, than by tormenting himſelf in the vain ſearch of uſeleſs and uncertain conqueſts; but Pyrrhus was deaf to every thing except what was ſuggeſted by his ruling paſſion. He already fancied himſelf maſter of all Italy, from whence he could rapidly extend his dominion on every ſide; but, the better to conceal his intentions, he ſeemed to yield to the entreaties of the Tarenteens with reluctance, and deſired they would detain him as ſhort a time in Italy as poſſible.

Fruitleſs advice of Cyneas.

The Tarenteens ſubjected to diſcipline.

Cyneas very ſoon arrived with three thouſand men at Tarentum; and, while he waited for the king, put the citadel in order. Pyrrhus very ſoon followed his miniſter with three thouſand horſe, twenty elephants, and twenty thouſand heavy armed infantry. He found the Tarenteens immerſed in indolence and effeminacy, and expecting to purſue their pleaſures while his army ſhould fight for their protection; but they had given themſelves up to a maſter, who, by his orders, inſtantly changed the face of affairs. The theatres were ſhut up, and an end put to feſtivals: theſe voluptuous people were obliged to ſubmit to military diſcipline, and ſaw themſelves incorporated with the troops of Epirus. Many of them fled, as they could not ſubmit to labour or conſtraint, even for the defence of their country.

So much do men degenerate in the boſom of luxury and idleneſs, that the Tarenteens were become a nation of women.

He pardons ſome inſolent debauchees.

Some young libertines, who had abuſed the king when in their cups, were ſaved by a ſtroke of humour. The king ſent for them next day to puniſh them for their inſolence, when, being reproached for their miſbehaviour, *Truly*, replied one of them, *if our wine had not been exhauſted we ſhould have done worſe, we ſhould have aſſaſſinated you.* Pyrrhus either deſpiſed the diſcourſe of drunkards, or thought it was more to his honour to pardon them.

Year of Rome 473 Battle of Heraclea, where the Romans were beaten.

Levinus, the Roman conſul, in the mean time advanced into the country, and the two armies fought with the greateſt courage, when the Grecian prince, too eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his brilliant armour, was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger; but he put on other arms, in which he proved his valour, and, by means of his elephants, gained the victory. The Romans, who had never before ſeen any, were frightened at the ſight of theſe monſtrous animals loaded with combatants; the horſes, terrified, ran away with their riders, and the diſorder becoming general, the whole army took to flight: however, they had made ſuch ſlaughter, that Pyrrhus ſaid upon the occaſion, *By another ſuch victory I ſhall be ruined:* nevertheleſs he continued his march towards Rome, and arrived within ſeven leagues of the city, when the approach of two conſular armies made him retire.

Fabricius, being ſent to the king of Epirus, raiſes the admiration of the Greeks.

They ſent ambaſſadours to him to treat about the ranſom or exchange of priſoners, and the virtuous Fabricius, ſtill poor, though placed in the higheſt rank, was one of the embaſſy. The money which was offered to him by Pyrrhus only ſerved to ſhow his contempt for riches. Cyneas was one day explaining to him the principles of the ſect of the Epicureans, which he profeſſed, when the Roman exclaimed, *O ye gods, may ſuch be the doctrine followed by our enemies, while they are at war with Rome!* It is likewiſe added, that when

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus invited him to come and ſettle in his court, where he promiſed to raiſe him to the higheſt honours, *I would by no means recommend it to you*, replied he; *for when your ſubjects know me, they will prefer me for their king.*

Cyneas ſent to negotiate at Rome.

Pyrrhus was deſirous of concluding a peace with a people whom he found it ſo difficult to overcome, and therefore ordered Cyneas to follow the Roman ambaſſadours to negotiate the terms. This able miniſter very ſoon learnt to regard the Romans: neither man nor woman would accept of the preſents which he offered them, in the name of his maſter. After a long deliberation, the ſenate, excited by the old Appius, made the following memorable anſwer, in which the ſteady character of the republic is ſtrongly imprinted: *Let Pyrrhus leave Italy, and then ſend to demand a peace; but while he remains in the country, Rome will proſecute the war.* Cyneas was ordered to leave the city that very day; and, in giving an account of his embaſſy to the king, ſaid, that *Rome appeared to him like a temple, and the ſenate an aſſembly of kings.*

The Romans require Pyrrhus to quit Italy.

Fabricius acquaints Pyrrhus with the treachery of his phyſician.

It is ſaid, that the phyſician of Pyrrhus, ſome time after this, made an offer to the Romans to poiſon the king for a ſum of money. (It is not eaſy to give credit to this; for what better fortune could he hope from Rome than from a court?) Fabricius, the conſul, generouſly acquainted the king with the offer of his phyſician, and on his part, according to Eutropius, deſerved the following encomium: *It were a more eaſy taſk to turn the ſun out of his courſe, than to turn Fabricius from the paths of juſtice and probity.* It is with pleaſure that I mention theſe anecdotes, as important leſſons of virtue; that manly virtue which knows how to contemn the deity of corrupted ſouls. The critic may ſuſpect ſome of them to be fictitious; but they perfectly correſpond with the character of the moſt illuſtrious Romans, who certainly poſſeſſed that greatneſs of mind, which laid thoſe voluptuous enemies at their feet, who were accuſtomed to wealth and luxury.

Year of Rome 478. Pyrrhus defeated at Beneventum.

Pyrrhus, tired of a war which brought no advantage, laid hold of a pretence for withdrawing from Italy, and paſſed over to Sicily, where the Syracuſans implored his aſſiſtance againſt the Carthaginians. He ſucceeded there at firſt, but afterwards having loſt all hope, he returned to Italy, and near Beneventum attacked Curius Dentatus, who gained a victory, and put him to flight. The Romans were no longer diſmayed at the ſight of his elephants; but, by throwing a ſort of flaming darts, and piercing them with pikes, made them quite furious; and, as was frequently the caſe, this rage was turned againſt their conductors.

The art of encamping.

The camp of Pyrrhus, in which the ſituation of every corps of his army was fixed within one incloſure, inſtructed the conquerors in the art of encamping. The Romans, always attentive to imitate whatever they found excellent in the practice of other nations, added courage and diſcipline to amazing reſources of natural genius. It is by imitation that good inventions are improved, and new ones afterwards contrived.

He quits Italy, which became ſubject to the Romans.

Six years after the beginning of the war, Pyrrhus quitted Italy. He ſet out with a deſign of taking Macedonia from Antigonus Gonatus; carried the war even into Peloponneſus, and was killed at the ſiege of Argos. Bold and enterpriſing, but raſh and inconſiderate, he was only an illuſtrious adventurer, who could not poſſibly ſucceed againſt the unſhaken conſtancy of the Romans. The cities of Tarentum, Crotona, Locri, all Græcia Magna, all Italy properly ſo called, fell very ſoon under the Roman government, at leaſt as allies, who were conſidered as too weak to obſtruct the intentions of the republic. They were principally indebted to the ſeverity of their diſcipline for all their ſucceſs; of which we ſhall ſee a new and very remarkable example.

Exceſſes of the garriſon of Rhegium ſeverely puniſhed.

Rhegium, a Grecian colony, ſituated in the moſt ſouthern extremity of Italy, had put itſelf under the protection of Rome, and admitted a garriſon of four thouſand men. The ſoldiers very ſoon adopted the manners of the country, gave themſelves up to every gratification,

gratification, and their reliſh for pleaſure brought them at laſt to be guilty of a moſt enormous wickedneſs, by forming a deteſtable conſpiracy, murdering the inhabitants, and taking poſſeſſion of their property. The war with Pyrrhus delayed the puniſhment of this enormity; but when it was finiſhed, one of the conſuls was ſent to inflict the puniſhment due to ſuch a dreadful offence. He beſieged the rebels in Rhegium, and obliged them to ſurrender, after a moſt violent reſiſtance, in which the greateſt part of them ſought a voluntary death. There were only three hundred taken priſoners, who were all condemned by the ſenate and executed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of one of the tribunes. Without ſuch examples to preſerve ſubordination, the Romans would have become mere banditti.

Rigour of the cenſorſhip.

The ſeverity of the cenſors contributed equally to preſerve the manners of the people, upon which the Roman greatneſs eſſentially depended. Cornelius Rufinus was excluded from the ſenate by the cenſors for having more than fifteen marks of ſilver plate in his poſſeſſion. He had been twice conſul, and once dictator. Though he was reputed to be both unjuſt and avaricious, it was by means of Fabricius that he obtained the conſulſhip. *I would rather*, ſaid that great man, *be pillaged by a conſul, than led priſoner by an enemy*. It would ſeem, that among the candidates that year, there was not one to be found who was a good general and an honeſt man.

Cornelius Rufinus expelled the ſenate for his ſilver plate.

The mark is eight ounces.

Poverty of Curius.

Can it be believed, that about this time the incorruptible Curius was accuſed of having converted ſome of the plunder taken in war to his own uſe? For his vindication he produced a wooden veſſel, which he uſed at ſacrifices, and ſwore that it was the only plunder that he had ever admitted into his houſe. The ſenate having made him an offer of fifty jugera of the conquered lands, after the defeat of Pyrrhus, he replied, that he lived very well upon ſeven, and would never conſent to ſet a bad example.

Such

Diſintereſtedneſs of the ambaſſadours ſent into Egypt.

Such a noble inſtance of diſintereſtedneſs excited emulation in the republic. The Roman ambaſſadours, who were ſent into Egypt to enter into a treaty of alliance with Ptolemy Philadelphus, depoſited the rich preſents, which they had been forced to accept from that prince, in the public treaſury at their return, and received the thanks of the ſenate, for having conducted themſelves ſo as to render the Roman manners reſpectable in the eyes of foreign nations. It is true, that riches were not much known, ſince there was no ſilver money coined at Rome, till after the retreat of Pyrrhus; but it has been ſeen that gold and ſilver are not the ſole food of avarice.

First ſilver money.

CHAP. II.

Introduction to the Punic Wars.—Republic of Carthage.—Revolutions of Sicily.

Introduction to the Punic wars.

WE are now about to ſee a much greater theatre open, for the diſplay of the power and policy of Rome; but before we enter upon the ſubject of the Punic wars, it is neceſſary to be firſt acquainted with Carthage, that famous rival of Rome, ſo powerful from her wealth and commerce, but already arrived at that fatal period, when the greateſt powers have been ruined by exceſſive ambition.

Government of Carthage.

Carthage, founded by the Tyrians about ſeventy years before Rome, had a mixed government, which undoubtedly was entitled to the higheſt encomiums, ſince it enjoyed domeſtic peace and civil liberty for more than five hundred years. They had two magiſtrates, choſen annually, who were called *ſuffetes*, reſembling the Spartan kings or Roman conſuls. The moſt important buſineſs of the ſtate was determined by the ſenate, if they were unanimous; but if they were not, it was referred to the people. They had a tribunal of a hundred and four ſenators, to whom the generals of the army were obliged to be reſponſible; a too ſevere tribunal, ſince they

Suffetes.

Senate.

they even punished the want of success with death, as if the best generals could command fortune. Five of these judges formed a superiour council, like the Spartan Ephori, whose business it was to appoint successors to the vacant seats in the great tribunal.

Tribunal of five.

Aristotle takes notice of two great faults in their distribution of employments: one was, that the same person might hold several employments, which could be rarely consistent with the good of the public; the second, that the poor were debarred from the highest offices, which gave too much importance to riches, and left too little room for emulation. However, it must be confessed that unless the poor were like Aristides or Fabricius, it might be more dangerous to trust offices in their hands, than in the hands of people who had less temptation to enrich themselves. Besides, few people in a commercial country are well educated without a fortune. The misfortune of Carthage was, that wealth had introduced corruption, and stimulated avarice, so that every thing was sold, though in fact nothing properly was venal; and then, according to the observation of the philosopher, the magistrates made no scruple of recovering what they had advanced, either at the expense of the state, or of individuals.

Two faults in that government criticised by Aristotle.

Reflections upon this subject.

Immersed in commercial pursuits, and contemning all arts and sciences which did not lead to the improvement of their fortunes, the Carthaginians were knavish, vicious and cruel, and superstition contributed to render their manners atrocious. They offered human victims to Saturn, even their own children; while the mothers, stifling the calls of nature, could with dry eyes witness these horrible sacrifices. It was the reflecting upon such dreadful deeds, that made Plutarch think superstition more offensive to the Deity than atheism. Gelon, king of Syracuse, having defeated the Carthaginians in the time of Xerxes, imposed upon them as a condition for granting them a peace, that they should abolish human sacrifices; but this salutary law was no longer observed, than while they could not infringe it without danger.

Vices of the Carthaginians.

Human sacrifices.

danger. The ſoothſayers were always conſulted in every affair of conſequence, and all their errours were rendered ſacred by credulity.

Temperance commanded to magiſtrates and the army.

It ſeems that the Carthaginians reckoned temperance a virtue; or at leaſt it was required from thoſe in whom intemperance is commonly of the moſt fatal conſequence. The magiſtrates abſtained from wine while they were in office, and the army were prohibited from drinking it while they remained in the field. Though they were not a warlike nation, and employed mercenaries to ſave the blood and preſerve the commerce of their citizens, yet they had a cuſtom very well calculated to excite military ardour. The ſoldiers wore as many rings as they had ſerved campaigns, and theſe rings were looked upon as honourable badges of diſtinction. Honour is the ſpur of warriors.

Military recompenſes.

Power & commerce of Carthage.

Carthage, always united to Tyre, its mother country, was imperceptibly raiſed even above that famous city, by commerce and new colonies. She had ſubjected Sardinia, a great part of Sicily and Spain. Being miſtreſs of the ſea, ſhe every where collected the ſuperfluities of different countries at ſmall expenſe, to ſell them at a high price elſewhere. Having no rivals, ſhe eaſily impoſed this kind of tax on other nations.

Voyage of Hanno.

Hanno, a Carthaginian navigator, was commanded to make the tour of Africa by the ſtraits of Gibraltar, as the Phenicians did in the time of Nechos; and would have performed one of the greateſt enterpriſes which had been conceived by the Ancients, if he had not fallen ſhort of proviſions. But Carthage, by extending her empire, was haſtening to deſtruction; for the love of conqueſt, which is dangerous to all people, is incompatible with commercial government and intereſts.

Ancient treaties between the Carthaginians & Romans.

Carthage and Rome had entered into ſeveral treaties of alliance; the firſt under the conſulſhip of Brutus, by which certain limits were fixed for the Roman navigation, and the Carthaginians engaged to do no injury in Latium. This treaty, which has been handed down entire by Polybius, ſhews that there was a mutual diſ-

truſt

truſt ſubſiſting at that time between the two nations. By a ſecond treaty, made in the year four hundred and five of Rome, and three hundred and forty eight before the Chriſtian era, it was agreed, among other articles, that the Romans ſhould not be at liberty to trade in Sardinia or Africa, except at Carthage, where they might diſpoſe of all kinds of merchandiſe which were not prohibited; and the Carthaginians might have the ſame privilege at Rome: which conventions were renewed at different times, with ſome alterations. They ſuppoſed, that the Carthaginians were the moſt powerful, but that the Romans had ſufficient ſtrength to make themſelves dreaded. Both nations were deſirous to make a conqueſt of Sicily, and the flame of war was very ſoon kindled by ambition. But before we begin to give an account of its progreſs, we muſt mention the revolutions of Sicily.

Dionyſius the tyrant

Revolutions in Sicily after the war with the Athenians.

Sixty years after the Syracuſans had ſhaken off the yoke of the family of Gelon, eleven after they had driven out the Athenians, and four hundred and five before our era, Dionyſius the tyrant made himſelf maſter of their city, and by his abilities, victories and cruelties eſtabliſhed his power in that iſland. He had conquered the Carthaginians, and driven them almoſt entirely out of Sicily. To the ridiculous vanity of being reckoned a poet, a paſſion for gaining crowns at the Olympic games, a rigorous ſeverity againſt the friends of truth, a ſuſpicious and mercileſs tyranny, and a ſhameful contempt of religion, were added, a ſtrength of genius and courage which ſupported him thirty eight years upon the throne, though ſurrounded by crowds of domeſtic enemies.

Anecdotes of that tyrant.

Among many anecdotes which are related of Dionyſius the tyrant, the following ſeem to me to be the moſt remarkable. He had ſent Philoxenus the philoſopher to the Quarry (the name of a priſon) becauſe he preſumed not to admire ſome verſes of which the tyrant was vain; and, having ordered him back next day, aſked his ſentiments of a new piece; upon which Philoxenes turning round to the guards, *Carry me back to the*

the Quarry, ſaid he; but upon this occaſion the tyrant underſtood raillery. Being in want of money, he plundered the temple of Jupiter, carrying off a cloak of maſſy gold, with which the god was decorated, ſaying, *This cloak is too heavy in ſummer, and too cold in winter*; and cauſed one of woolen to be put upon the ſtatue, as ſuitable for every ſeaſon. This wretched prince would have no barber but his own daughters; and, even dreading the razor or ſciſſars in their hands, taught them to ſinge off the hair with nutſhells. Dionyſius the younger, his ſon, ſucceeded him without any obſtruction.

Dionyſius the younger.

This voluptuous and effeminate prince gave himſelf up at firſt to the ſeductions of proſperity, and ſeemed to reign for no other purpoſe but to continue intoxicated with pleaſures; but his brother in law Dion, the wiſeſt of all the inhabitants of Syracuſe, having perſuaded him to prevail with the famous Plato to come to his court, ſtudy, philoſophy and morals came in the train of the philoſopher. If the courtiers could have been brought to reliſh the reformation, Syracuſe would have had an excellent prince; but they formed falſe accuſations againſt Dion, and cauſed him to be baniſhed. Plato immediately followed him. *You are going to rail againſt me with your philoſophers*, ſaid the prince, when he gave him leave to depart. *God forbid*, replied he, *that the academy ſhould be in ſuch want of ſubjects as to oblige us to think of you!* The moſt horrid injuſtice very ſoon completed the diſgrace of Dion: his property was ſold, and his wife given to another. The kingdom of Sicily, aggrieved by the ſame oppreſſions, ſolicited his help againſt the tyrant; and, notwithſtanding the advice of Plato, who diſapproved the attempt, he reſolved, by a remarkable revolution, to revenge the injuries done to his country and to himſelf. In fact, he delivered Syracuſe from tyranny, and governed for ſome time with the greateſt prudence; but an ungrateful people, hurt by the auſterity of his manners, ſuddenly forgot all his ſervices; he was aſſaſſinated by a treacherous friend; and Dionyſius remounted the throne ten years after he had been expelled.

Dion being perſecuted, expels Dionyſius.

Dionyſius reſtored.

The

The Corinthians having ſent the famous Timoleon to the aſſiſtance of Syracuſe, which was one of their colonies, Dionyſius was again dethroned, and being baniſhed to Corinth, there ended his days in poverty. The Spartans thought to terrify Philip from his example, by replying to a threatening letter which he ſent them, with theſe words, *Dionyſius at Corinth.*

Dionyſius again dethroned by Timoleon.

Sicily did not long enjoy the peace and liberty to which they were reſtored by Timoleon. Agathocles, a cotemporary of Alexander, made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe by the help of the Carthaginians, with whom he afterwards quarrelled. Beſieged in Syracuſe, he ventured to carry the war into Africa; defeated the Carthaginians, ſuffered a reverſe of fortune, baſely abandoned his army, and died by poiſon.

Agathocles another tyrant of Syracuſe.

Syracuſe, beſieged anew by the Carthaginians, applied for aſſiſtance to Pyrrhus, at that time in Italy. That prince was at firſt ſucceſsful in fighting for her, but afterwards unfortunate. He exclaimed, in quitting Sicily, *What a charming field of battle do we leave for the Romans and Carthaginians!* The Syracuſans choſe Hiero for their king. Then it was that the Punic wars began, which ſprung from the ambitious policy of Rome much more than from either juſtice or neceſſity.

The Syracuſans call in Pyrrhus againſt the Carthaginians.

They chooſe Hiero for their king

CHAP. III.

Firſt Punic War, and its Conſequences.

THE Mamertines, who were originally Campanian mercenaries, by a deed ſimilar to that of the Roman garriſon at Rhegium, which was ſeverely puniſhed, as we have already mentioned, took poſſeſſion of Meſſina. They were attacked by Hiero and aſſiſted by Carthage; but, being equally afraid of the attempts of the Carthaginians and the king of Syracuſe, put themſelves under the protection of the Romans. Honour forbid the ſenate to declare in their favour; but the people, who were not ſo delicate in their ideas of decorum,

Year of Rome 489

The Romans unjuſtly carry the war into Sicily

rum, were deſirous of a war, from which they promiſed ſingular advantage to themſelves. The will of the people being the ſupreme law, they immediately took up arms. Appius Claudius, the conſul, with a ſmall fleet paſſed the ſtraits; defeated Hiero and the Carthaginians, who had united againſt him; left a garriſon at Meſſina, and returned to Rome with the greater glory, as it was the firſt time the Romans had tried their ſtrength out of the continent.

They enter into an alliance with Hiero.

Either from prudence, or being unable to reſiſt, Hiero entered into a treaty with the Romans to ſave his own kingdom. The Carthaginians were in poſſeſſion of a great part of the coaſt and the maritime towns; but they could be driven from thence by the help of the Syracuſans.

Year of Rome 493 They raiſe a formidable fleet.

The famous city of Agrigentum was taken after a long ſiege, and the enemy defeated in a ſevere engagement. The Romans, encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, enlarged their views. They found the neceſſity of having a naval power, and undertook to form one; for before this time they had never had a fleet deſerving the name, their veſſels being rather ſmall barks than ſhips. A Carthaginian galley, which was ſtranded on the coaſt of Italy, ſerved them for a model, and they laboured with ſuch zeal, that in two months time, according to Polybius, they equipped a hundred galleys of five banks of oars, and twenty of three banks. The rowers were in the mean time exerciſed upon the ſea ſhore, ſitting upon benches as if they had been on board a galley. However, it was not to be expected that their galleys, and their manner of working them, could, upon a firſt attempt, equal thoſe of a people who were maſters of the ſea. To acquire a ſuperiority, it was neceſſary to find a method of fighting with firm footing on board their ſhips, ſo as to render the addreſs and maritime ſkill of the Carthaginians of no avail. What is it of which genius is incapable when rouſed by great motives?

Naval victory by the conſul Duilius.

The conſul, Duilius, had a machine added to every galley, called *corvus*, which, falling upon the ſhip of the enemy,

enemy, ſerved equally to grapple, and as a bridge for boarding. The invention was crowned with every poſſible ſucceſs, for he defeated the Carthaginians, killed ſeven thouſand men, made as many priſoners, took four ſcore and ſunk thirteen of their galleys. Never had a victory been gained ſo pleaſing to the Romans; and, during the whole of his life, Duilius was treated with an extraordinary mark of reſpect. At his return from ſupper in the city, he was always preceded by a man carrying a torch, and another playing on an inſtrument of muſic.

New ſucceſſes.

For a few years, victories and inſtances of heroic valour ſucceeded almoſt without interruption. They took Corſica and Sardinia from the enemy. Calphurnius, a legionary tribune, ſaved the army in Sicily by an action ſimilar to that of Leonidas againſt the Perſians. His three hundred companions fell in the action; he alone eſcaped, all covered with wounds; and his reward was a crown of graſs. The Romans, having taken ſixty galleys at the battle of Ecnomus, thought themſelves in a ſituation to attack Africa.

Heroic action of Calphurnius.

After the battle of Ecnomus Regulus enters Africa.

Regulus, one of the victorious conſuls, carried the war into that country, and at the expiration of his conſulſhip received orders to remain in quality of proconſul. He then complained, and demanded a ſucceſſor; becauſe, he ſaid, a thief had ſtolen away his labouring utenſils, and if he did not return to cultivate his little field, he and his family run a riſk of periſhing with hunger. The ſenate gave orders that the field of Regulus ſhould be cultivated, and his family ſupported, at the public expenſe. The Roman people, ſaid Seneca, became his labourer. Thus we ſee that poverty ſtill continued to heighten the glory of the Roman generals; but we cannot eaſily be perſuaded that Regulus had not ſome ſecret motive for deſiring to be recalled; the bare mention of his wants would undoubtedly have obtained the ſame aſſiſtance; but perhaps he longed for a triumph, of which he might be diſappointed by a reverſe of fortune. What followed gives authority to this conjecture.

Re-

Year of Rome 497 Regulus vanquiſhed by Xanthippus, and by his own fault.

Regulus, advancing to the gates of Carthage, and wanting to put an end to the war, offered ſuch hard terms to the enemy, that, notwithſtanding the general conſternation, they were rejected. By his ſaying, *That they muſt either learn to conquer, or to ſubmit to the conqueror*, he animated the courage of the drooping Carthaginians, from a ſenſe of ſhame and deſpair. Some Grecian auxiliaries in Carthaginian pay arrived in this critical ſituation of their affairs. Xanthippus, a Lacedemonian, taught them the art of war, accuſtomed them to ſubmit to diſcipline, and filled their minds with zeal and confidence. He attacked the preſumptuous Regulus, who, imagining himſelf invincible, took no precautions to defeat his enemy, and was therefore conquered and taken priſoner. An example, ſays Polybius, very proper to teach us to be leſs confident and more prudent. Let us learn by the errours and misfortunes of others, to avoid the like errours and misfortunes. This is the valuable advantage to be gained by reading. Xanthippus ſaved the Carthaginians, but, dreading their jealouſy, privately withdrew.

The Romans continue the war with zeal.

The ſucceſs which the Romans had at the beginning of this war could not be effaced, and made them redouble their efforts to fit out a new fleet, to purſue it with freſh vigour; but this armament was deſtroyed by ſtorms and ſhipwrecks, which made them renounce all hopes of becoming maſters of the ſea; however, when they came to conſider the great ſuperiority which the enemy derived from their naval force, they haſtened to get ready a new fleet. Before it was prepared to put to ſea, Metellus the proconſul gained a complete victory near Panormus (Palermo). Six ſcore elephants ſerved to grace his triumph, which afforded a new ſpectacle to the Romans.

Heroic death of Regulus, as mentioned by a number of hiſtorians.

At laſt the fleet ſet ſail, to lay ſiege to Lilybæum, the ſtrongeſt place poſſeſſed by the Carthaginians in Sicily. It was upon this occaſion that the Carthaginians ſent ambaſſadours to propoſe an exchange of priſoners. If, notwithſtanding the ſilence of Polybius, we may credit

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a number of hiſtorians, Regulus, who was ſent with theſe ambaſſadours, perſuaded the Romans not to make the exchange, and then returned to Carthage to ſuffer a moſt dreadful puniſhment. To revenge his death, the Romans gave up the chief priſoners to his wife and children, who ſhewed they were as great barbarians as the Carthaginians. It is certain, that even their virtue had a mixture of ſavage cruelty.

Year of Rome 504 Battle of Drepanum, where the Romans loſt their fleet.

During the nine years that the ſiege of Lilybæum laſted, both nations diſplayed every reſource which they could command. Claudius Pulcher, a haughty, imprudent conſul, attacked the Carthaginian fleet near the port of Drepanum, and loſt his own, which was deſtroyed by Adherbal. It is reported, that, upon being informed before the engagement that the ſacred pullets would not eat, he cauſed them to be thrown into the ſea, ſaying with a ſneer, *Since they will not eat, let them drink.* This was ſufficient among ſuch ſuperſtitious people to diſhearten the ſoldiers. Storms and ſhipwrecks, and other misfortunes, totally deſtroyed the Roman fleet, except ſome ſhips fitted out by private perſons at their own expenſe to cruiſe againſt the enemy. At laſt the zeal of the people ſupplied the want of public money,* every one contributing in proportion to his ability to fit out a new armament; the republic, whoſe promiſes did not deceive them, having engaged that their money ſhould be refunded. Two hundred galleys of five banks of oars were ſoon fitted out; and Lutatius, the conſul, deſtroyed the fleet under Hanno, defeated Hamilcar Barcas, the father of the famous Hanibal, compelled the Carthaginians to ſue for a peace, and moſt imperiouſly dictated the conditions.

They repair this loſs, and gain new victories.

Year of Rome 511 Treaty of peace.

It was ſtipulated that the Carthaginians ſhould totally evacuate Sicily; that in the ſpace of twenty years, they ſhould pay 2200 talents of ſilver (about £. 325,480 Engliſh) to the Romans; that they ſhould reſtore

* At the beginning of the ſiege of Lilybæum, money was ſo ſcarce that at Rome the buſhel of corn coſt but one *as*, or the tenth part of a drachma. For the ſame price they had a *congius* of wine (about one gallon) twelve pounds of meat, ten pounds of olive oil, &c. *Plin.* l. xvii. c. 3.

reſtore the priſoners and deſerters without ranſom; and, laſtly, ſhould not make war againſt Hiero or his allies. The Roman people refuſed to ratify the treaty but upon condition that they ſhould have an additional thouſand talents for the expenſes of the war, the time of payment of the other ſums to be reduced to ten years, and the Carthaginians obliged to yield up all the iſlands lying between Italy and Sicily. Except the kingdom of Syracuſe, Sicily was declared a Roman *province*; which was a name they gave to all their conqueſts out of Italy. A prætor and quæſtor were ſent thither regularly every year, the firſt to be a judge in civil matters, the other to gather the taxes.

The Romans preſcribe hard conditions.

Sicily declared to be a Roman province.

Thus we ſee the Romans, after a continual war of twenty four years, without wealth, ignorant of the art of navigation, ſuſtaining a loſs of ſeven hundred galleys, and yet preſcribing terms to the opulent city of Carthage, whoſe loſſes were leſs conſiderable, with infinitely greater reſources. An inflexible ſteadineſs in all her reſolutions, an invincible love of glory and deſire of conqueſt, the conſtant practice of fighting, and the moſt rigid diſcipline, all together contributed to determine every conteſt in favour of Rome. A people devoted entirely to war ought certainly to ſucceed againſt a nation which never enters into it but for the ſake of her commerce.

From whence the ſuperiority of the Romans was derived.

Beſides, the Carthaginians, by crucifying ſuch of their generals as happened to be unfortunate in war, inſpired terrour rather than emulation; whereas the Romans inſpired their people with courage, by puniſhing diſobedience and cowardice, and every failure in duty, with degradation, and by diſdaining to ranſom their priſoners; without reckoning misfortunes, to which every man is ſubject, as crimes. Four hundred young knights, having been ordered upon ſome preſſing and indiſpenſable ſervice, refuſed to obey; by the judgment of the cenſors they were therefore deprived of their horſes; but they were not loſt to the ſtate; they could ſtill wipe out the ſtain, and recover their rank. A ſalutary puniſh-

Severe diſcipline inſpires courage.

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ment ſerved only to revive the ſenſe they ought to have of their duty. In one word, Rome had a great deal of ambition, and excellent ſoldiers to execute her ambitious purpoſes; ſhe aimed unremittingly at the great object of her politics, which was, to aggrandize herſelf; and her conſuls were the more zealous to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as they continued but a ſhort time in office. It was by theſe means that Rome became the miſtreſs of the world. The number of citizens was much diminiſhed at the end of the firſt Punic war.

Year of Rome 514. Revolt in Sardinia againſt the Carthaginians.

The army of Carthage was compoſed of African mercenaries; who, far from ſerving with that zeal which love of country inſpires, were more inclined to revolt, that they might gain advantages for themſelves. The Carthaginians wanted to ſend them home, and to reduce their pay; which proved the ſignal for a dreadful ſedition. The city would have been taken and plundered, if it had not been for Hamilcar. The mercenaries ſeized Sardinia, and made an offer of it to the Romans, by whom it was rejected; but they afterwards found a pretence to take poſſeſſion of it, becauſe they found it convenient for their purpoſe. They compelled the Carthaginians to renounce it, and to pay the expenſe of the armament which was fitted out for taking it. As the Carthaginians could not revenge the inſult, they were obliged to comply.

The Romans ſeize it notwithſtanding the peace.

The temple of Janus ſhut.

A general peace occaſioned the temple of Janus to be ſhut, which had been kept conſtantly open from the time of Numa. In a few months it was again opened, and never more ſhut till in the time of Auguſtus. War was the element of the Romans; yet moſt authors extol their juſtice and humanity.

Year of Rome 523. Illyrian corſairs.

Ambaſſadours were ſent into Illyria, to demand reparation of certain injuries done by the corſairs of that nation to ſome merchants. Teuta, their queen, replied, that ſhe would give no orders for attacking the Romans, but that the kings of the country were not accuſtomed to prohibit individuals from cruiſing; to which the youngeſt of the ambaſſadours boldly replied, *With us,*

Rome complains and Illyria is reduced.

the injury done to one citizen is revenged by the republic, and we ſhall oblige you to reform your cuſtoms. Teuta, provoked at this affront, cauſed the ambaſſadours to be put to death. The Romans ſubdued Illyria, and took this opportunity of ſhewing themſelves to the Greeks.

The Romans honoured in Greece.

Corinth and Athens, not foreſeeing that they would one day become the ſlaves of this people, hitherto unknown, admitted them to their games and their myſteries.

War againſt the Gauls of Italy.

The Gauls were making preparations in the mean time againſt Rome, who had provoked them by diſtributing the lands of the Senones. The pontiffs were conſulted about the means of warding off the ſtorm, and in conſequence of their reply two Gauls were buried alive. Barbarous ſuperſtition ſeems every where to have cauſed murder to have been committed, in honour of the Deity who forbids and puniſhes it. This barbarity enraged the Gauls, and they overcame a conſiderable army in Tuſcany; but, fighting half naked, they were defeated in ſeveral engagements. The Romans paſſed the Po, for the firſt time, in five hundred thirty. They took Milan, the capital of Inſubria; made themſelves maſters of Liguria, and united theſe two countries into one province by the name of Ciſalpine Gaul. One colony was eſtabliſhed at Cremona, another at Placentia; Iſtria and Illyria were next ſubdued. I only point out thoſe events. The ſecond Punic war preſents us with ſome more memorable tranſactions.

Ciſalpine Gaul reduced to a province, &c.

CHAP. IV.

Second Punic War, till the Battle of Cannæ.

Progreſs of the Carthaginians under Hamilcar & Aſdrubal in Spain.

THE Carthaginians very ſoon repaired their loſſes by new conqueſts gained in Spain, into which Hamilcar had carried the war, after having made his ſon Hannibal ſwear irreconcilable hatred againſt the Romans. In the courſe of nine years, he had greatly extended the dominions of Carthage in that country, from whence they received immenſe riches; and was ſucceeded

ceeded in the command by his ſon in law Aſdrubal, who followed his ſteps, founded the city of Carthagena, and greatly added to a power whoſe progreſs could not fail to give uneaſineſs to the Romans. Rome, ſeeing herſelf threatened by the Gauls, ſent to negotiate with her dangerous rival, who was very unwilling to renew the war. It was agreed, that the Carthaginians ſhould not paſs the Iberus (Ebro), and that Saguntum, a conſiderable city in alliance with the Romans, ſhould remain free and independent.

Hannibal commands in Spain.

It was impoſſible that peace could long ſubſiſt between two ſuch ambitious powers, with ſuch oppoſite intereſts. Aſdrubal was naturally of a pacific diſpoſition, and faithfully obſerved the treaty; but at his requeſt young Hannibal was ſent to him into Spain. He died, and Hannibal, the implacable enemy of Rome, whoſe greateſt paſſion was for war, being appointed his ſucceſſor, very ſoon dedicated his whole attention to accompliſh the vaſt projects of his uncommon genius, and gave full ſcope to his natural diſpoſition. About twenty ſix years of age, he already added prudence to the moſt heroic qualities. He was adored by his ſoldiers, becauſe he was at once their moſt perfect model, and greateſt benefactor. He was ſober, vigilant, indefatigable, inured to every kind of toil, never dedicating any time for ſleep but what was abſolutely neceſſary to recover him from the fatigue of buſineſs, ſleeping ſometimes upon the ground amidſt the common centinels, liberally rewarding thoſe actions and military virtues in others which were his own particular delight; and, unfortunately for the Romans, poſſeſſing the talents of an artful politician, in as eminent a degree as thoſe of an accompliſhed general.

His character.

Year of Rome 534. He beſieges and takes Saguntum in alliance with Rome.

Though the Barcan party, of whom his father was the chief, ruled in Carthage, and had already declared in favour of a war, yet as their opponents might one day prevail, Hannibal would not undertake any thing without the conſent of the republic. By employing his emiſſaries to complain of the Saguntines, and to render

the Romans odious and ſuſpected, he obtained full power to act, with reſpect to Saguntum, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for the intereſt of Carthage. That city, being inveſted; applied to the Romans for aſſiſtance, who ſent ambaſſadours, but their remonſtrances were of no avail. After a ſiege of ſeven months, the Saguntines, being reduced to the laſt extremity, burnt all their valuable effects; and, ſetting fire to their houſes, moſt of them periſhed in the flames with their wives and children, and the reſt were put to the ſword.

Rome declares war againſt Carthage.

Rome keenly reproached herſelf for neglecting to ſuccour ſuch uſeful and faithful allies, and, preparing for war, ſent a new embaſſy to aſk the reaſon of an enterpriſe contrary to treaties and the law of nations. Far from delivering up Hannibal, as the Romans required, the Carthaginians pretended to juſtify the ſiege of Saguntum from their example. Fabius, who was chief of the embaſſy, not caring to enter into ſuperfluous diſcuſſions, making a fold in his robe, *I here carry peace or war*, ſaid he haughtily; *chooſe one or the other*. The chief of the ſenate declared, in a tone equally haughty, that he himſelf might chooſe. *I chooſe war, then*, replied Fabius; which, being agreeable to the Barcan party, was cheerfully accepted.

Examination of the motives of the ſecond Punic war

It is a great political queſtion, whether or not this war was juſt. The laſt treaty expreſſly bore, that the Carthaginians ſhould not attack Saguntum, and in this point the convention was violated: but the invaſion of Sardinia and Corſica by the Romans, and their impoſing a new tribute upon Carthage after the concluſion of the treaty of peace, were attempts equally odious. As the Carthaginians had given no proof of compliance in the treaty made with Aſdrubal, but by a ſilence of ſeveral years, they were not without a pretence to elude the obſervation of it. On both ſides we ſhall find injuſtice, violence, bitterneſs, and an ambitious jealouſy, watching for favourable opportunities. The voice of equity, and the laws of good faith, have little power when the paſſions bear ſway; and the war in appearance the moſt juſt

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is almoſt always blamable in its principles. Rome ſeemed to have a right to avenge the cauſe of Saguntum; but Rome wanted to humble and ſtrip Carthage.

Politics too little influenced by morals.

We have reaſon to bewail the fate of the human race, when the political tranſactions between nations are not guided by morality: then indeed treaties are but weak ties; then the different ſtates, always upon the watch, and in continual diſtruſt of one another, under an appearance of friendſhip, are certain enemies: and as the firſt law of nature obliges us to watch for our own preſervation, it frequently happens, that the horrours of war may be juſtified, by the neceſſity of preventing certain attacks, as the only means left for ſelf defence.

Rome in vain ſolicits the Spaniards & Gauls to aſſiſt her.

The Roman ambaſſadours, who endeavoured to enter into treaties of alliance in Spain and with the Gauls, found theſe people ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the republic. They were told in Spain, that the deſtruction of Saguntum was no motive for chooſing ſuch allies: the Gauls thought it ridiculous, that, after the treatment given to their countrymen, the Romans ſhould make them a propoſal for an offenſive alliance: the republic therefore found that they muſt depend upon their own ſtrength, which was certainly very conſiderable. Beſide ſix legions, which amounted to twenty four thouſand infantry and eighteen hundred horſe, they had a body of forty eight thouſand men from the other Italian ſtates, and a fleet of two hundred and forty ſail. The two conſuls drew lots for the different departments; Sempronius ſet out for Africa, and Publius Scipio to fight in Spain.

Hannibal prepares to carry the war into Italy

In the mean time Hannibal, having the command of the Carthaginian forces, with a power of doing whatever he judged proper, and not reſtricted to time like the conſuls, prepared to carry the war into Italy. No undertaking was ever concerted with more courage, or more prudence. He took the moſt proper meaſures for the ſafety of the ſtate; procured perfect information of the obſtructions he was to expect on his way; by kindneſs and preſents gained over a number of Gauls to eſpouſe

pouſe his intereſt, and perfectly won the hearts of all his ſoldiers. As he had foreſeen every thing, no dangers could diſmay him; and though he was to meet with ſome very terrible, yet, being ſatisfied that he could overcome them, he ſet out with all the confidence of a true hero.

Year of Rome 535. He paſſes the Alps, notwithſtanding the greateſt difficulties.

The paſſage of the river Iberus, and the Pyrenean mountains, with which he gloriouſly begun, is nothing in compariſon of the Rhone and the Alps. On the news of his march, Scipio repaired with all diligence to the neighbourhood of Marſeilles, with an intention of making Gaul the theatre of action; but being deceived by the alacrity of the enemy, he neither could meet him, nor prevent his paſſing the Rhone. Neither the rapidity of the river, nor the Gauls who defended the oppoſite bank, could retard the progreſs of Hannibal; he even ſaved his elephants. Having arrived at the foot of the Alps in the month of October, he found them covered with ice and ſnow, and guarded by ſavage mountaineers, who might deſtroy his army by tumbling down maſſes of rock upon them from the ſummits of the mountains: however, with infinite labour he ſurmounted every oppoſition, and in fifteen days arrived at that charming country, which he propoſed to his troops as the reward of all their labours. He had been about five months and a half upon his march from Carthagena, from whence he ſet out at the head of fifty thouſand infantry, and twenty thouſand horſe, of whom there remained only twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe when he arrived in Italy.

His march from Spain one of the moſt remarkable expeditions in hiſtory.

This march, of about four hundred leagues, which was accompliſhed notwithſtanding innumerable obſtructions, deſerves to be celebrated among the extraordinary exploits of the moſt famous conquerors. The hiſtory of it, which has been left us by Polybius, is excellent, though there is not to be found in it either the marvellous, or the pomp of that author. The vinegar with which that author makes them diſſolve the rocks of the Alps, too much reſembles the chimeras of Herodotus.

Where

Where could they find ſuch a quantity of vinegar?

Hannibal's firſt exploits in Italy.

As ſoon as Hannibal had given his army ſome time to repoſe, he was impatient to ſignalize himſelf by ſome enterpriſes, which might ſpread the terrour of his name and arms. He began by taking Turin, and Scipio quickly advanced for the protection of Italy. The conſul engaged the Carthaginians beyond the Ticinus (Teſino), but receiving a wound, and his cavalry, on a ſuppoſition that he was killed, immediately flying from the field, he repaſſed the Po cloſely followed by Hannibal, upon which the Gauls abandoned the Romans and joined the enemy.

Battle of Trebia gained over Sempronius.

Sempronius, a vain preſumptuous man, being recalled from Sicily, flattered himſelf with the hopes of conquering the enemy without the aſſiſtance of his colleague, who was ſtill confined by his wound; and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Scipio, perſiſted in his reſolution to engage. As he did not ſtudy the proper ſeaſon, but the time which ſuited his own views, (an excellent obſervation of Polybius,) he took his meaſures ſo badly, that the two conſular armies were defeated on the banks of the Trebia. By a ſtratagem of Hannibal in the beginning of the engagement, the conſul paſſed the river, notwithſtanding the ſnow which fell, ſo that his ſoldiers, ſtiff with cold, and ſuffering with hunger, could ſcarce hold their arms, while the Carthaginians were provided againſt fatigue and the ſeverity of the weather. At ſight of ſuch an errour, it was eaſy to foreſee the conſequence.

Dangerous march of Hannibal into Tuſcany.

The conqueror, in the next place, attempted to paſs the Appenines, which from ſome circumſtances were almoſt as dangerous as the Alps. His army ſuffered ſeverely by a terrible ſtorm of two days continuance, in all which time they could not pitch their tents. Seven elephants, with a number of men and horſes, periſhed upon the occaſion. Yet, on getting out of the mountains, Hannibal again attacked the conſul Sempronius, and after a ſevere action, in which neither army gained the advantage, he haſtened to penetrate by the ſhorteſt road

road into Tuſcany. Deep marſhes preſented themſelves before him; a new danger, which to any man but Hannibal would have been inſurmountable. His ſoldiers ſtood in water four days and four nights. Mounted upon the only elephant which remained, he could ſcarce extricate himſelf out of the fens, and loſt an eye by a defluxion which was occaſioned by the bad air and fatigue. How highly deſerving of admiration theſe prodigies of courage, if the cauſe of humanity had been their object!

Year of Rome 536. The Romans defeated at Thraſymenus.

A new conſul, the raſh Flaminius, a man unworthy of the command, was by his indiſcretion deſtined to complete the glory of Hannibal. He alarmed the Roman ſuperſtition, by ſhewing an arrogant contempt of the auſpices; in the next place, being impatient to fight, he engaged in a defile near the lake Thraſymenus, where he was inveſted by the enemy, who killed him, and cut his army in pieces. Only ſix thouſand Romans eſcaped from the ſlaughter, but were next day compelled to ſurrender; and four thouſand men, who were on the way to join Flaminius, were likewiſe defeated. Hannibal ſeemed to command fortune.

Prudent policy of the conqueror.

Amidſt all his ſucceſs, he never forgot the part of a ſound politician, and behaved with great humanity to the allies of Rome, whom he hoped to allure to his intereſt by diſmiſſing their priſoners without ranſom. He ſet himſelf up as the deliverer of theſe people, who had been ſtript of their rights by ambition and injuſtice: but, except from the Gauls, he met with no aſſiſtance.

Fabius choſen dictator.

All would have been ruined if the ſenate, contrary to rule, had not themſelves choſen a dictator who was able to reſtore their affairs; I mean Fabius, who by his prudence outſhone the moſt famous conquerors. Minucius was choſen general of the horſe by the people; a ſad choice, which helped to ſet off the merit of the dictator to greater advantage. Fabius began his dictatorſhip by ſome religious acts, which were become the more neceſſary, as the minds of the people had been ſtruck with a ſuperſtitious panic. He made them fulfil

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an old vow long in diſuſe, to which they ſuppoſed ſucceſs in war was attached; and then putting himſelf at the head of his army, prudently determined to let the enemy conſume themſelves for want of proviſions. He encamped upon heights, avoided coming to an engagement, harraſſed Hannibal, and by this new kind of war diſconcerted all his meaſures. Minucius, who was as impetuous as Fabius was prudent, at ſight of the Carthaginians laying waſte the territories of the allies, railed againſt his conduct; but Fabius was not to be moved by reproaches. The cruel and almoſt unanimous accuſation of cowardice could not tarniſh the reputation of the dictator, who had ſufficient ſteadineſs to ſet at defiance the expreſſions of contempt and ridicule which were levelled at him, and even to ſacrifice his own glory to the good of his country, eſteeming the opinion of the world as nothing when compared with the ſenſe which he had of his duty. *I ſhould be cowardly indeed*, ſaid he, *if the fear of railiery made me commit a fault.*

His prudence diſconcerts Hannibal.

He ſets expreſſions of contempt and raillery at defiance.

At laſt Fabius was accuſed of keeping up a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy, becauſe Hannibal, on purpoſe to render him ſuſpected, had ſpared his lands; Fabius therefore ordered his ſon to ſell the lands, and to employ the money in ranſoming the priſoners. He was ordered to Rome; and when one of the tribunes of the people railed againſt him, he only replied, *Fabius cannot be ſuſpected by his fellow citizens.* Injuſtice was carried ſo far, that his general of horſe was appointed to an equal ſhare in the command; he therefore gave to that raſh man one half of his army. He very ſoon ſaw him engaged with the Carthaginians, and, ſurrounded on all ſides, upon the point of being totally defeated: Fabius then ruſhed upon the enemy, and diſperſed them. He could be no Roman who could withſtand ſuch proofs of worth; Minucius bluſhed at his errour, and yielded the command entirely to the dictator. This campaign affords one of the moſt inſtructive leſſons which hiſtory can poſſibly preſent either to the citizen or ſoldier.

The injuſtice done to him only ſerves to make his virtue more conſpicuous.

He ſaves the raſh Minucius

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Battle of Cannæ, and Continuation of the War, till Scipio Africanus was appointed to the Command in Spain.

Varro a bad conſul

EXPERIENCE had ſhewn the Romans how much their ſucceſs in war depended upon the choice of a general; but the people rarely profit by experience; they are hurried on by prejudice, and blinded by cabals. Terentius Varro, the ſon of a butcher, who likewiſe had exerciſed the ſame employment, and raiſed himſelf by flattering the populace, without any merit but arrogant preſumption, was choſen conſul in ſpite of the nobility. Emilius, his colleague, with all the virtues of a good citizen, and the abilities of an excellent general, found him an adverſary more to be dreaded than the Carthaginians. Eight legions, conſiſting each of five thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, with the troops furniſhed by the allies conſiderably augmented, compoſed a very formidable army under the two conſuls. If commanded by Emilius only, it had been invincible; but, by the raſhneſs of Varro, it was totally deſtroyed at the famous battle of Cannæ in Apulia (La Puglia.)

Emilius his colleague.

Year of Rome 537 Battle of Cannæ loſt by the miſconduct of Varro.

Two generals, having equal authority with entirely oppoſite principles, each commanding one day alternately, are two heads wanting to lead the ſame body different ways: their miſunderſtanding foreboded an unavoidable misfortune. Varro, taking the opportunity of his day to command, threw himſelf headlong into the moſt imminent danger: nothing could equal the imprudence of his diſpoſitions, nor could any be conceived ſuperiour to thoſe of Hannibal. The Romans were ſurrounded and cut in pieces; and, after an engagement of three hours, the carnage became ſo dreadful, that the Carthaginian general cried out to ſpare the conquered. Emilius, with about forty thouſand men, of whom there were near three thouſand knights, fell in this battle. Varro, followed by a few of the cavalry, fled to Venuſia (Venoſa).

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That magnanimity, for which the Romans have been ſo juſtly celebrated, was diſplayed with all its powers upon this occaſion, amidſt the inexpreſſible conſternation which ſuch a diſaſter could not fail to produce. They were at laſt inclined to hearken to the advice of Fabius. The women were forbidden to ſtir out of their houſes, becauſe they added to the general diſmay by their cries and lamentations; the gates of the city were ſhut againſt thoſe timid people, who thought of flying for their own preſervation; leſt the intelligence which was received hourly ſhould add to the alarm, the couriers were admitted only in ſecret, and the ſenators were employed all over the city to diſpel the fears of the people. From the wreck of the army, Varro collected ten thouſand men, with whom he returned to Rome, when the ſenate in a body went out to meet him, and in the moſt ſolemn manner thanked him, *for not having deſpaired of the republic.* This ſtroke of policy had an effect almoſt equal to a triumph; but what was not to be expected from ſenators, each of whom was become almoſt a Fabius?

Noble behaviour of the ſenate after the defeat

At the ſame time they carried all their money to the public treaſury; the knights and all the tribes followed their example. The youth of ſeventeen years of age and upwards were enrolled in the troops, and eight thouſand * ſlaves were armed. Whether it proceeded from economy, or to animate the troops with a ſenſe of their duty, or to check the hopes of the enemy, is uncertain, but they refuſed to ranſom the priſoners. Four legions and ten thouſand horſe were raiſed in the city, and the allies ſupplied the numbers that were demanded. They who cenſure Hannibal for not taking the advantage of his victory, to lay ſiege immediately to Rome, do not ſufficiently reflect upon the obſtructions which the national character of the Romans, excluſive of every thing elſe, muſt have preſented.

The efforts of the Romans ſtill to ſupport the war.

Hanno,

* Before they were enrolled, they were aſked if they were willing to take arms. They anſwered, *Volo (I am willing.)* From whence they had the name of *Volones*. This queſtion was not aſked the citizens, becauſe they were obliged to ſerve.

Hanno maintained at Carthage that they ought to make peace.

Hanno, the inflexible opponent of the Barcan party, perhaps reaſoned better at Carthage. Hannibal having ſent his brother Mago with the news of the victory gained at Cannæ, and to demand freſh ſuccours, Hanno perſervered in his opinion, and maintained, that ſince the Romans had ſhewn no ſigns of deſpair, offered no propoſals of peace, nor teſtified the leaſt deſire of obtaining it, they certainly were not reduced to the laſt extremity, as had been repreſented; that the preſent ſituation of things might procure an advantageous peace, but a ſingle defeat might overthrow all the deſigns of Hannibal. He concluded that they ought not to ſend any ſuccours into Italy: "If Hannibal has gained deciſive victories, ſaid he, he has no occaſion for more troops; and if he can have deceived us, he deſerves none." This opinion was laughed at, but it was juſtified by the event. As we ſhould be led too far by entering into the detail of theſe expeditions, I ſhall confine myſelf to what is barely needful.

The Carthaginians enervated at Capua.

Capua, having revolted from Rome, admitted Hannibal within her walls, where the pleaſures that prevailed in that city proved the ruin of his army. The example of the commander becomes contagious; his ſoldiers grew relaxed, and, inſtead of a military repoſe, of which they had much occaſion, they enjoyed an unmanly reſt, which deprived them of all vigour both of body and mind. Thoſe men who had been inured to all the toils of war, now carried off debauched women from Capua, which was the occaſion of great deſertion: they had now no reliſh for any thing but the delights of Campania. *Having become rich by ſo many victories*, ſays Monteſquieu, *would not every place have been to them a Capua?* No, it would not, if diſcipline had been properly maintained.

Advantages gained by the Romans. Their ſlaves ſignalize themſelves

However formidable Hannibal had always been, yet the Romans ſoon recovered the ſuperiority. Sempronius, with a body of ſlaves, defeated a Carthaginian army. He had promiſed freedom to all who ſhould bring the head of an enemy; but obſerving that time was loſt

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in cutting off the heads during the action, he cauſed proclamation to be made that not one ſhould be freed if the battle was loſt; then theſe valiant ſlaves redoubled their efforts, and by victory purchaſed a glorious freedom. What ſtronger proof do we need to convince us how repugnant to human nature is ſlavery? Philip king of Macedon, having entered into alliance with Hannibal, made his appearance in Magna Græcia, but being defeated by Levinus, he immediately reimbarked. Even Hannibal retired before Marcellus the conſul, who afterwards immortalized himſelf by the ſiege of Syracuſe, which was one of the great events of this war.

Philip makes an alliance with Hannibal

Hiero, a faithful ally of the Romans, died at a very great age; but Hieronymus, his grandſon and ſucceſſor, having adopted other maxims, attached himſelf to the Carthaginians. This young tyrant, for he deſerved no other name, having diſguſted the people to whom Hiero had been a father, was killed by conſpirators; nevertheleſs the Syracuſans eſpouſed the cauſe of the Carthaginians, which made Marcellus, who was newly arrived in Sicily, form a plan for reducing them.

Year of Rome 539 Marcellus lays ſiege to Syracuſe for having declared againſt Rome.

The Syracuſans had formerly defeated the Athenians, and the famous Archimedes, a relation of the late king's, the greateſt geometrician of his age, had rendered it a much more difficult conqueſt than it had been in the days of Alcibiades. The aſtoniſhing effect of his machines, which deſtroyed the Romans and ſunk their galleys, obliged Marcellus, after many extraordinary and fruitleſs attempts, to change the ſiege into a blockade. He had even thought of withdrawing, when being ſhewn a place where the height of the wall could be reached with ſcaling ladders, he attempted to carry the city by eſcalade in the night, and ſucceeded. He ſhewed every poſſible mark of reſpect to the memory of Archimedes, who was killed by a ſoldier that did not know him. For three years the genius of this ſingle man had defended his country. Syracuſe, whoſe character was greatly ſimilar to that of Athens, was reduced with the reſt of Sicily into a Roman province.

Archimedes defends it for three years.

Taken by eſcalade.

The

Year of Rome 542. The Romans take Capua, and then Tarentum

The Romans ſignalized themſelves equally in Spain and Italy. Capua was beſieged and hard preſſed, when Hannibal, deſpairing to relieve it, undertook the ſiege of Rome, on purpoſe to make a diverſion in its favour; but having failed in this bold attempt, Capua was reduced to the greateſt extremity. The chief authors of the revolt killed themſelves, and the citizens yielded. The inhabitants were entirely diſperſed; a new colony was eſtabliſhed in their place, and a prefect ſent every year to adminiſter juſtice. A little time after, Tarentum was retaken by Fabius, who found in it a great number of pictures and ſtatues, perfect maſter pieces of art, but for which he ſhewed a thorough contempt. When he was aſked what he choſe to have done with them—*Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods*, ſaid he. (The gods of the Tarentines were dreſſed like warriors, as was the cuſtom at Sparta.) On the contrary, Marcellus, who was a man of taſte, decorated the Roman temples with the maſter pieces of Syracuſe. Unfortunately this great general, the conqueror of Hannibal, fell into an ambuſcade where he was killed, and the laſt duties were paid to him by the Carthaginian hero. Marcellus was called, *the ſword of Rome*, a ſurname to which he was well entitled by his ſervices.

Death of Marcellus

CHAP. VI.

End of the Second Punic War.

The two Scipios killed in Spain.

THE war raged with equal violence in Spain, where Publius Scipio and his brother Cneius had the greateſt ſucceſs, and retook Saguntum; but, dividing their forces, they were overpowered by ſuperiour armies, and both killed in the year 541. Marcius, a young knight, had the honour to be their avenger. He forced the enemy's camp in the night, and gained many other important advantages. Yet the loſs of the two generals was conſidered as irreparable, when the great Publius Scipio, ſon of the eldeſt brother, made an offer, though

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but twenty four years of age, to continue the war, and being accepted, was appointed proconſul.

Year of Rome 543 Young Scipio is ſent thither and takes Carthagena.

His ſucceſs ſeemed miraculous, and he was in ſome degree indebted for it, to the art of turning the ſuperſtition of the vulgar to the public advantage. If he had not pretended that Neptune appeared to him, and adviſed him to beſiege Carthagena; and if he had not foretold the ebbing of the ſea as a prodigy which was to render the harbour fordable, the very mentioning ſuch an attempt would have made the Romans tremble. Carthagena was taken by aſſault in one day, in which were found eighteen galleys, a hundred and thirty merchant ſhips loaden with proviſions, the magazines and arſenals filled with ſtores, and a vaſt treaſure. This was a deadly blow to the power of Carthage.

He ſubdues Spain.

His virtue contributes greatly to his ſucceſs.

The proconſul, by a ſtriking example of virtue, greatly added to his military glory. A young female captive was brought to him of exquiſite beauty, with whom he was immediately charmed; but having queſtioned her, and finding ſhe was betrothed to a prince of the country, inſtantly reſtored her to her promiſed huſband, who extolled him as a deity, and procured him ſeveral allies. In a ſhort time after, the Romans took Spain from the Carthaginians. The activity, valour, prudence and reputation of the young general, ſeconded by his friend Lelius, made him equally dreaded and reſpected. From that time Maſſiniſſa, king of Numidia, reſolved to join him, and forſake the Carthaginians, and became a ſteady and zealous friend of Rome.

Year of Rome 548 He is recalled & choſen conſul.

All Spain being reduced, the ſenate ſent ſucceſſors to relieve Scipio, who laid down his command without murmuring. On his return to Rome, the centuries unanimouſly decreed him the conſulſhip, before he had attained the age which the law required. Even the ſpirit of the law might make an exception in favour of ſuch uncommon merit.

Aſdrubal the brother of Hannibal defeated in Italy.

Aſdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, had paſſed the Alps in 546, with a very great army, and was completely defeated by the conſuls. The Carthaginians loſt their general

general and fifty thouſand men in this action, which put an end to the fears of the Roman republic. The number of the Roman citizens having been diminiſhed about one half ſince the firſt campaign by Hannibal, it would have been almoſt impoſſible to defend themſelves if the two brothers had joined. The greater the dangers they ſurmounted, the more their courage and confidence acquired ſtrength.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Fabius, Scipio was ſent into Africa.

No man but Scipio would have thought of carrying the war into Africa; however, he propoſed it, and his ſucceſs in Spain preſerved him from being ſuſpected of raſhneſs. This project was warmly oppoſed by old Fabius, either from a ſecret jealouſy againſt a young man who was likely to eclipſe him, or rather from an exceſs of caution which is natural to age; for we ought to put the moſt favourable conſtruction poſſible upon the intentions of great men. He alledged it was not improbable that by this means Italy might be loſt, as it was continually threatened by Hannibal. The ſenate, being more affected with the reaſons given by the conſul, appointed Scipio to command in Sicily, with the liberty of paſſing over to Africa, if he ſaw a proſpect of advantage to the republic. The year was conſumed in making preparations; and though Scipio was falſely accuſed by ſome envious people of having waſted his time in purſuit of pleaſures, yet he was ordered to execute his ſcheme in quality of proconſul.

Year of Rome 549 Maſſiniſſa and Syphax.

He had ſcarcely arrived upon the continent and gained a ſingle advantage over the Carthaginians, when Maſſiniſſa declared in favour of Rome. Syphax, another Numidian king, and a rival of Maſſiniſſa, declared againſt her, though formerly attached to Scipio, who defeated him and Aſdrubal the Carthaginian general in ſeveral bloody engagements. Maſſiniſſa reduced Numidia, and married the famous Sophoniſba, who had been formerly promiſed to him, but had been married to Syphax. The fate of this princeſs is very extraordinary; ſhe paſſed from ſlavery to a throne.

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In the mean time, the Carthaginians in conſternation recalled Hannibal, who had ſuſtained heavy loſſes in Italy. He quitted this charming country with the regret of a conqueror from whom his prey was ſnatched; but his departure was attended with univerſal joy at Rome, except from Fabius, who could not partake of the general ſatisfaction. His mind had probably been weakened, or his temper ſoured, by old age, for he was exceſſively prejudiced againſt the great Scipio. If it could proceed from jealouſy, of which he has been accuſed, what degree of virtue is ſo immaculate, as not to have reaſon to dread being degraded by vice? Fabius did not outlive this war.

Hannibal recalled.

Death of Fabius.

The Carthaginians having baſely broken a truce, Scipio carried fire and ſword to the very gates of Carthage; upon which Hannibal was ordered to attack him. He firſt ſent ſpies to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy; but they were ſeized, and carried before the Roman general, who, after having made them examine every thing, permitted them to depart, and even gave them ſome money. Hannibal, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the behaviour of Scipio, was deſirous of peace, and requeſted an interview. He repreſented to him the viciſſitudes of fortune, and endeavoured to inſpire him with a deſire of reſtoring peace, offering to reſign Spain and all the iſlands ſituated upon the coaſt of Italy. Scipio anſwered Hannibal as Alexander anſwered Darius, and they parted to prepare for an engagement.

Interview between Scipio & Hannibal

The fate of the two nations was to be decided by the famous battle of Zama. The Carthaginian auxiliaries were very ſoon put to flight, and a multitude of wounded and frighted elephants completed their defeat; but Scipio was in deſpair of breaking through the Carthaginian phalanx, which Hannibal had formed of his veteran troops, when Lelius and Maſſiniſſa, who had returned from purſuing the fugitives, took them in the rear, which decided the victory. The enemy loſt forty thouſand men killed and taken priſoners, and the Romans only

Year of Rome 551 Battle of Zama gained by Scipio.

only two thouſand. It was with difficulty Hannibal could ſave himſelf.

Advantage of cavalry.

Let us take notice, by the by, that the Roman cavalry was greatly inferiour to both the Numidian and Spaniſh, and it was to that inferiority the Carthaginians chiefly owed their ſucceſs. The deſertion of a troop of Numidian horſe, after being quartered at Capua, and the alliance with Maſſiniſſa, made up for the diſadvantage to which the Romans were in this reſpect expoſed.

Year of Rome 552. Treaty of peace which concludes the ſecond Punic war

The conſternation which the Romans experienced after the battle of Cannæ, ſeized the Carthaginians after the battle of Zama. Even Hannibal declared, and eaſily perſuaded the people to believe, that peace was their only reſource. Scipio was anxious to have it concluded, leſt the new conſul ſhould deprive him of the honour of ending the war. He dictated the following terms: "The "Carthaginians to preſerve their laws, and to retain all "the poſſeſſions they held in Africa before the breaking "out of the war; but Rome to keep Spain and the "Mediterranean iſlands. That they ſhall give up all "priſoners and deſerters, with all their elephants, and "ſhips of war, except ten galleys of three banks of oars. "They ſhall not make war either in Africa or elſewhere "without the conſent of the Roman people. They "ſhall pay ten thouſand talents in the ſpace of fifty years. "They ſhall reſtore to Maſſiniſſa whatever they have "taken from him or his anceſtors. They ſhall give a hundred hoſtages, ſuch as ſhall be approved by Scipio, in ſecurity for the faithful performance of theſe articles."

Treaty ratified at Rome.

Though ſeveral ſenators were for continuing the war, either from views of ambition, or to favour the new conſuls, yet the treaty was ratified at Rome. One of the ſenators having aſked the chief of the Carthaginian embaſſy, *What God will you call to witneſs the ſincerity of your oaths?* he replied, *The ſame by whom our perjuries have been ſo ſeverely puniſhed.* A moſt humiliating anſwer, which a Roman would not have made. The difference of ſucceſs was in a great meaſure owing to the difference of their national character.

A TABLE

A TABLE OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY,

For the better Underſtanding of this Work.

A.

ACHAIA. Was at firſt a country of Peloponneſus; but when Greece was ſubdued by the Romans, the province which they called *Achaia* comprehended Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, Peloponneſus, &c. with the iſlands.

ADRIATIC (Sea.) The Gulf of Venice.

ÆQUI. An ancient people of Italy inhabiting the banks of the Anio, at preſent the Teverone.

ÆTOLIA. A country of Greece on the Gulf of Corinth or Lepanto, at preſent the Deſpotat, a part of Livadia.

ALBANIA. A country of Aſia near the Caſpian ſea, comprehending at preſent Sohivan and Dageſtan, in which is the city of Darbent.

ALLOBROGES. A people of Narbonne Gaul, inhabiting a part of Dauphiny, and almoſt all Savoy.

ALPS. Theſe mountains were divided into ſeveral parts under different names—*The Cottian Alps*, between Dauphiny and Piedmont (Mount Cenis.) —*Grecian Alps*, between Piedmont and Savoy (Little Mount St. Bernard.) —*Julian Alps*, between Iſtria and Carniola in the Auſtrian dominions.—*Lepontian*, in Swiſſerland.—*Maritime*, between Provence and the territories of Genoa.—*Norican*, between Bavaria, Tirol and Carinthia.—*Penniне*, between the Milaneſe and Valais (Great St. Bernard.)—*Rhetian*, in the Tirol, &c.

AMANUS. A branch of mount Taurus in Aſia, which parts Syria from Cilicia.

ARABIA. A country of Aſia, ſituated between Paleſtine, the Red Sea, and the gulf of Perſia. The Ancients divided it into three parts as it is at preſent. 1ſt. *Arabia Petræa*, upon the confines of Paleſtine and Egypt. 2d. *Arabia Deſerta*, on the north, where the people known by the name of the Nomades dwelt, of whom one tribe was called Saracens, which name afterwards became common to all the Arabians. 3d. *Arabia Felix*, to the ſouth. Its chief towns are Jatripa (Medina), Macoraba (Mecca), Saba (Sanaa.)

ARMENIA. The great Armenia lies to the north of Meſopotamia, called at preſent Turcomania.—Leſs Armenia in Aſia Minor. It was a part of Cappadocia conquered by the kings of Armenia.

ATLAS. A great mountain of Africa, extending from eaſt to weſt.

ASIA MINOR. At preſent called Natolia. It comprehended Phrygia, Lydia, Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Ionia, Caria, Cilicia, &c.

ASSYRIA. Beyond the Tigris. Its ancient capital was Nineveh. The other famous cities are Arbela (Erbil), and Cteſiphon the capital of the Parthians. That country is at preſent called Kurdiſtan.

ATTICA. A country of Greece, in which Athens was ſituated. It is called at preſent Setine or Atheni.

B.

BABYLONIA, or CHALDEA. Situated on the ſouth of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria.

Aſſyria. Its capital, Babylon, which was on the banks of the Euphrates, is deſtroyed. It has been ſuppoſed that Bagdat was in the ſame place, but Bagdat is on the Tigris. This country is at preſent called Irak Arabi.

BACTRIANA. A province of Perſia, on this ſide the Oxus (the Gihon.) It is a part of the country of the Uſbeck Tartars.

BALEARES. Iſlands which were dependent on Spain. Minorca and Majorca.

BITHYNIA. A province to the north of Aſia Minor. Its chief cities were Pruſy, Nicæa, Chalcedon, Nicomedia, &c. called at preſent Bourſe, Iſnich, Scutari, Is Nikmid.

BŒOTIA. A country of Greece lying weſt of Attica. Thebes (Thiva) was the capital.

BŒTICA. A province of Spain, which took its name from the river *Bætis*, (Guadalquivir.) It comprehended Andaluſia, the kingdom of Grenada, and a part of New Caſtile.

BORYSTHENES It is the river Dnieper which runs into the Black Sea.

BOSPHORUS of Thrace. It is the ſtrait of Conſtantinople, by which the Propontis (the ſea of Marmora) communicates with the Black Sea.—Boſphorus *Cimmerius*, or Cherſoneſus Taurica, at preſent the Crimea.

BRITAIN. Great Britain, likewiſe called Albion, comprehended, as it does at preſent, England and Scotland. But the Roman Britain, they only reckoned the ſouth part of Scotland with England.—Little Britain, called likewiſe Hibernia, and ſometimes Scotia, was Ireland.

BRUTIUM. A part of Italy to the ſouth, where was Crotona, Coſentia, and Rhegium.

C.

CAMPANIA. A part of Terra di Lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples.

CANTABRES. A people of Hiſpania, Tarraconenſis, in Guipuſcoa, Biſcay, and Navarre It was with difficulty they were reduced by the Romans.

CAPPADOCIA. A great country in Aſia Minor bordering on the Black Sea. It formed a kingdom, and Cæſarea was its capital. It is called at preſent Amazia or Amnazan.

CASPIAN (Gates.) Narrow and very difficult paſſages between the mountains and the Caſpian ſea, and is ſaid to be near the city of Darbent in Perſia. It is now called the paſs of Teflis.

CAUCASUS. A branch of mount Taurus in Aſia, lying between the Black Sea, and the Caſpian.

CELTICA. See Gaul.

CHALDEA. See Babylonia.

CHERSONESUS. This name was given to ſeveral peninſulas. Cherſoneſus, *Cimbrica* (Jutland.) *Taurica* (the Crimea.) *Thracia* (Romania)

CILICIA. A ſouthern province of Aſia Minor, where were the cities of Tarſus and Iſſus.

CŒLO SYRIA. A country of Syria ſituated in a delightful valley, the limits are little known. See Syria.

COLCHIS. Afterwards called Lazica. A country of Aſia lying eaſt of the Black Sea. At preſent called Mingrelia.

COMAGENA. A province of Syria near the Euphrates.

CORCYRA. A Grecian iſland in the weſtern part of the Ionian ſea, at preſent called Corfu.

CRETE. An iſland in which are reckoned ſeveral kingdoms. It is the iſle of Candia in the ſouth of the Archipelago.

CYRENAICA A part of Africa, which is reckoned at preſent the weſtern part of the country of Barca.

D.

DACIA. A country, comprehending Upper Hungary, Tranſylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia beyond the Danube. Its inhabitants were called Getæ. The Romans, having quitted Great Dacia, gave that name to the country on the near ſide the Danube.

DALMATIA. It was the eaſtern part of the preſent Dalmatia and Boſnia, with the weſtern Servia. Its cities were Salona, Belgrade *(Taurunum)* &c.

DAR-

DARDANIA. Upon the confines of Macedonia, ſometimes making a part of Dacia. The ſame name is given to other countries.

E.

EGEAN (ſea.) At preſent called the Archipelago.

EGYPT. The Ancients divided it into three parts. 1ſt. Lower Egypt, whoſe chief cities were Tanis, Peluſium, Canopus, Alexandria. 2d. Middle Egypt, in which ſtood Memphis. 3d. Upper Egypt or Thebais, where were Thebes, Elephantis, and Syene.

EMILIA. A country of Italy or Ciſalpine Gaul, between the Po and the Apennines. It comprehended the dutchy of Parma, and extended to the neighbourhood of Ravenna.

EPIRUS. A country of Greece at preſent called Lower Albania. Ambracia (Larta) and Nicopolis (Preveza) built by Auguſtus after the battle of Actium, were the chief cities.

ETHIOPIA. Lies ſouth of Egypt, and is called at preſent Nubia, and Abyſſinia. The moſt remarkable of its inhabitants were the Troglodites, who dwelt in caverns on the ſhore of the Red Sea.

ETRURIA (or Hetruria.) At preſent Tuſcany, with a part of the Papal territories lying weſt of the Tiber.

EUBEA. An iſland in the Egean ſea, extending along the coaſt of Bœotia, whoſe capital was Chalcis; the Euripus parted it from the main land. It is at preſent called Negropont.

F.

FALISCI. A people of Etruria upon the Tiber. Falerii was their capital.

FIDENATES. A people of Latium, whoſe capital was Fidenæ.

G.

GALATIA or GALLO GRÆCIA. A province of Aſia Minor, where the Gauls ſettled. Ancyra was its capital; at preſent Angouri.

GAUL. Was divided into four parts; Belgica, Celtica, Aquitania, Narbonnenſis. 1ſt. *Belgica* comprehended the country lying between the ocean, the Rhine and Mount Vogeſus (Voge) to the Seine and the Marne. 2d. *Celtica*, the middle and the greateſt part of France. 3d. *Aquitania*, the country between the ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenean mountains. Theſe three were called *(Comata)* haired Gaul, becauſe the people wore long hair. 4th. Narbonneſis (called *Braccata* from the name of a dreſs) included Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny and Savoy.

Auguſtus extended Gallia Narbonnenſis to the Loire, and new diviſions were conſtantly made. At the end of the fourth century Gaul was divided into ſeventeen provinces: two of Narbonne, three of Aquitaine, three of Lyons, four of Belgia, the Viennenſee, the Senones, the Sequani, &c.

As the northern part of Italy was peopled by colonies from Gaul, the Romans gave it the name of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, and the country ſituated beyond the Alps, with reſpect to Italy, they called *Gallia Tranſalpina*.

GERMANIA. Comprehended the country between the Rhine, the Danube, the Viſtula, and the northern ocean, which was called *Great Germany*. The *Leſs* was a part of Gaul, the near ſide of the Rhine, and where it was ſettled by German colonies.

Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and a part of Poland, were in Great Germany, but it did not extend ſo far to the ſouth as Modern Germany.

GREECE. The ſouth part of Turkey in Europe. The Ancients divided it into ſix parts, Macedonia, Epirus, Theſſalia, Achaia, Peloponneſus, and the iſlands.

Great Greece is the ſouthern part of Italy, where the Greek colonies were ſettled.

H.

HELLESPONT. The ſtraits which part Europe and Aſia, at preſent called the Dardanelles. This name was given to the country in Aſia, ſituated upon the Straits. The cities of Lampſachus and Cizicus made a part of it.

HEL-

HELVETIA. A Celtic nation, comprehending Swiſſerland, except the canton of Bale.
HEMUS (at preſent Balkan.) A range of mountains croſſing Thrace.
HERCYNIA (the foreſt of) This immenſe foreſt covered almoſt all Germany, and extended from Alſace and Swiſſerland to Tranſylvania; the black foreſt is a part of it.
HISPANIA (Spain.) The Romans divided it at firſt into two parts, *Ulteriora* and *Citeriora*, or Tarraconenſis. The firſt was afterwards ſubdivided into two provinces, Luſitania and Bœtica. (See theſe words.) The ſecond into three. 1ſt. Terraconenſis Proper, in which were Tarragon, Sarragoſſa, Pampeluna, Numantia; 2d. Gallicia, in which were Braga, Porto, Lugo, Leon; 3d. The Carthaginian, in which were Carthagena, Valencia, and Toledo.
HYPANIS. A river of Scythia in Europe, called at preſent the Bog.
HYRCANIA. A province of Perſia to the ſouth of the Caſpian ſea, at preſent Mazandiran, or Tabariſtan.

I.

IBERIA. A province of Aſia, between the Caſpian and the Black Seas. The ſame name was likewiſe given to Spain, becauſe of the river Ebro (*Iberus.*) It is called at preſent Georgia.
ILLYRIA. This country was greatly extended after the Roman conqueſts, and divided into eight provinces, which were again ſubdivided. 1ſt Rhætia; 2d. Noricum; 3d. Pannonia; 4th. Liburnia; 5th. Dalmatia; 6th. Illyria Proper (in which are Scutari and Durrazzo;) 7th. Mæſia; 8th. Dacia. It was bounded by the Danube, the lake of Conſtance and the Rhine, the Alps, the Adriatic ſea, Greece and Thrace.
INDIA. The ancients knew little of this country but the weſtern peninſula, and that which forms a great part of the Mogul's country. It was *India on the near ſide the Ganges.* The country of the Brachmans, beyond the Ganges, towards the ſource of that river, is the Thibet, or the country of the Lamas. The peninſula of Malacca was called *the Golden Cherſoneſus.* They included the country of Sina (China) in India, which was undoubtedly the ſouth part of China, with Cochinchina and Tonquin.
INSUBRIA. A part of Ciſalpine Gaul, inhabited by a colony of Gauls called Inſubres. The capital was Milan.
IONIA. A country of Aſia Minor, in which were the cities of Miletus, Epheſus, Smyrna, &c.
ISAURIA. A mountainous country in Aſia, on the confines of Cilicia, at preſent Sauba in Caramania.
ITALY. It was at firſt only the ſouthern part of the country which is known by that name at preſent, and was afterwards divided into nine parts; 1ſt. Ciſapline Gaul or *Togata* (ſince Lombardy); 2d. Etruria; 3d. Umbril; 4th. Picenum; 5th. Samnium, and the country of the Sabines; 6th Latium; 7th. Campania; 8th. Magna Græcia; 9th. The Iſlands. Auguſtus divided it into eleven provinces, and Conſtantine into ſeventeen.
JUDEA. In Aſia, at preſent a part of Souria.

L.

LACONIA. In Peloponneſus, the country of the Spartans; at preſent called Mainar.
LATIUM. The country of the Latins, Rutuli, Volſci, Hernici, &c. It is at preſent the Campania di Roma, and the adjacent part of the Terra di Lavoro.
LAZICA. See Colchis.
LESBOS. An iſland in the Archipelago; at preſent Meteline.
LIBANUS. A chain of mountains on the confines of Syria and Paleſtine.
LIBYA. A country in Africa; at preſent Barca.
LIGURIA. At preſent the coaſt of Genoa. part of Piedmont, Montferrat, and the Milaneſe, on the ſouth ſide of the Po.
LUCANIA. A part of Magna Græcia, in which was Sybaris, Roſcianum (Roſſano) &c.

LUSITANIA. A province of Spain between the Douro, the Gaudiana and the Ocean. It comprehended almoſt all Portugal, with a part of the two Caſtiles.

LYDIA. A country of Aſia Minor, in which was Sardis.

M.

MACEDONIA. Situated between Greece and Thrace. The Turks call it *Makidunia*. Its principal towns were Pella (Jenitza), Theſſalonica (Saloniki), &c.

MAURITANIA. A part of Africa to the ſouth of the ſtraits of Gades (Gibraltar); to which the Romans added a part of Numidia. The whole was divided into three provinces, which comprehended the kingdoms of Morocco and the weſtern part of Algiers.

MEDIA. A province of Perſia to the north of Babylon; at preſent Irak Agemi.

MESOPOTAMIA. A province of Aſia between the Tigris and the Euphrates, in which were Edeſſa, Niſibus, Carrhæ, Singara Atra, &c. at preſent Diarbeck.

MESIA. This country anſwers at preſent to the Eaſtern Servia, and the Weſtern Bulgaria.

MESSENIA. The country of the Meſſenians in Peloponneſus, to the weſt of Laconia.

N.

NORICUM. A country lying between Italy and the Danube. A part of the circles of Bavaria and Auſtria.

NOVEMPOPULANIA. In Gaul, which is at preſent Gaſcony and South Guienne.

NUMIDIA. Before the time of the Romans this part of Africa was of great extent, but diſmembered by them to enlarge Mauritania. In the time of Auguſtus it was no more than the eaſt part of the kingdom of Algiers.

O.

ORCADES. Iſlands on the north of Great Britain; at preſent the Orkneys.

P.

PALESTINE. See Judea.

PALUS MEOTIS. At preſent the ſea of Zabache or Aſoph, which communicates with the Black Sea.

PANNONIA. A province of Illyria to the ſouth of the Iſter (Danube), comprehending a part of Auſtria and Hungary. Its cities were Sirmium (Sirmich), Vindobona (Vienna), &c.

PARTHIA. The country of the Parthians to the eaſt of Media. It makes a part of the Khoraſſan.

PELOPONNESUS. A great peninſula joined to the reſt of Greece by the Iſthmus of Corinth; at preſent the Morea.

PERGAMUS. The capital of a kingdom of the ſame name in Aſia Minor, where formerly was the kingdom Phrygia.

PERSIA. That was the name given by the ancients to the country lying beyond the Tigris as far as the Indies. Perſia, properly ſo called, made one province, as did Media, Parthia, Bactriana, &c which anſwers to the preſent Perſia, and to a part of the country of the Uſbeck Tartars.

PHASIS. A celebrated river of Colchis in Aſia; at preſent Rione or Facha.

PHENICIA. A country in Aſia. It was a narrow coaſt between the Mediterranean ſea and Mount Lebanon, at preſent comprehended in Souria.

PHOCIS. A country of Greece, lying weſt of Bœotia, in which were the city of Delphos, Parnaſſus, and Helicon.

PHRYGIA. A country of Aſia Minor, towards the Helleſpont, in which was the famous Troy.

PONTUS. A part of Aſia Minor on the coaſt of the Black Sea. It was the kingdom of Mithridates.

PONTUS EUXINUS. At preſent the Black Sea.

PROPONTIS. A gulf between the Helleſpont and the Black Sea, called at preſent the Sea of Marmora.

PHÆ-

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R.

RHÆTIA. The weſt part of Illyria. It is the country of the Griſons, a part of Tirol, Suabia and Bavaria.
RHODOPE. A mountain in Thrace, almoſt parallel to mount Hæmus, which croſſed a province of the ſame name.
RUTULI. A people of Latium. Ardea was its capital.

S.

SABINI. A people of Italy, whoſe country anſwers to la Sabini in the papal territory, reaching to the farther Abruzzo. It had in it Cures (Veſcovio), Reate (Rieti), &c.
SAMNIUM. The country of the Samnites, among whom the Marſi were reckoned. At preſent it is called Abruzzo in the kingdom of Naples.
SARMATIA. The ancients divided it into Sarmatia of Europe, and Sarmatia of Aſia. That of Europe is between the Viſtula, the Danube, the Black Sea, the Tanais and the Riphean mountains, containing Poland, Ruſſia in Europe, and Little Tartary. That of Aſia was what is at preſent called Kaſan, Aſtrakan, and Circaſſia.
SCANDINAVIA. In north Germany, containing Sweden and Norway; likewiſe called Scandia, and Baltia.
SCYTHIA. The northern part of Aſia, at preſent called Great Tartary, in which the ancients placed the Aſiatic Sarmatia. The eaſtern part they called Serica, which reached to the ſouth as far as the country of the Brachmans, and to the Sinæ, that is perhaps northern China. *Little Scythia* was in Europe, lying at the mouth of the Danube.
SICAMBRI. A famous people of weſt Germany, who with other Germans formed the league of the Franks.
SOGDIANA. A province of Perſia, lying between the Oxus (Gihon) and the Jaxartes (Sihon.) The capital was Maracanda, at preſent Samarkand.
SYRIA. That part of Aſia, which the Romans called Eaſt Syria, was at firſt divided into Syria, Phenicia and Paleſtine; after which they made new diviſions. The firſt part was ſubdivided into five provinces. 1ſt. Syria Proper, in which were Antioch, Seleucia, Emeſa; towns ſituated upon the Orontes (the Aſſi); 2d. Comagena; 3d. Oſroene; 4th. Palmyrena; 5th. Phenicia Damaſcena, formerly Cœlo Syria, where ſtood Damaſcus and Heliopolis (Balbeck.)

T.

TANAIS. At preſent the river Don, which runs into the ſea of Aſoph.
TAURUS. A chain of mountains in Aſia, of which the branches had different names.
THEBAIS A country in upper Egypt, towards Ethiopia. Its capital was Thebes.
THESSALIA. A province of Macedonia, on the ſouth of that kingdom, from which it was ſeparated by mountains, at preſent called Jannæ.
THRACIA. At preſent Romania and the weſtern Bulgaria. In the time of the Roman emperours, it was divided into ſix provinces. 1ſt. Thracia Proper, near to Macedonia; 2d. Rhodope; 3d. Europa, in which was Byzantium; 4th. Hemimon; 5th. Mæſia ſecunda; 6th. Little Scythia, near the mouth of the Danube.
THRASIMENUS. (the lake of.) At preſent Perouſa.

V.

VENETIA. A country inhabited by the *Galli Venetes*, containing the ſtate of Venice, a part of Mantua, the Milaneſe, and Ferrara. Mantua was one of its cities.
VOLSCI. A people of Latium. They had the towns of Anxur (Terracine), Arpinum (Arpino), Caſſinum (mount Caſſino).

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